

THE PRIVATE/PUBLIC DIALECTIC AND THE HISTORICAL
TRANSFORMATION OF WOMEN'S ROLES IN THE AZORES

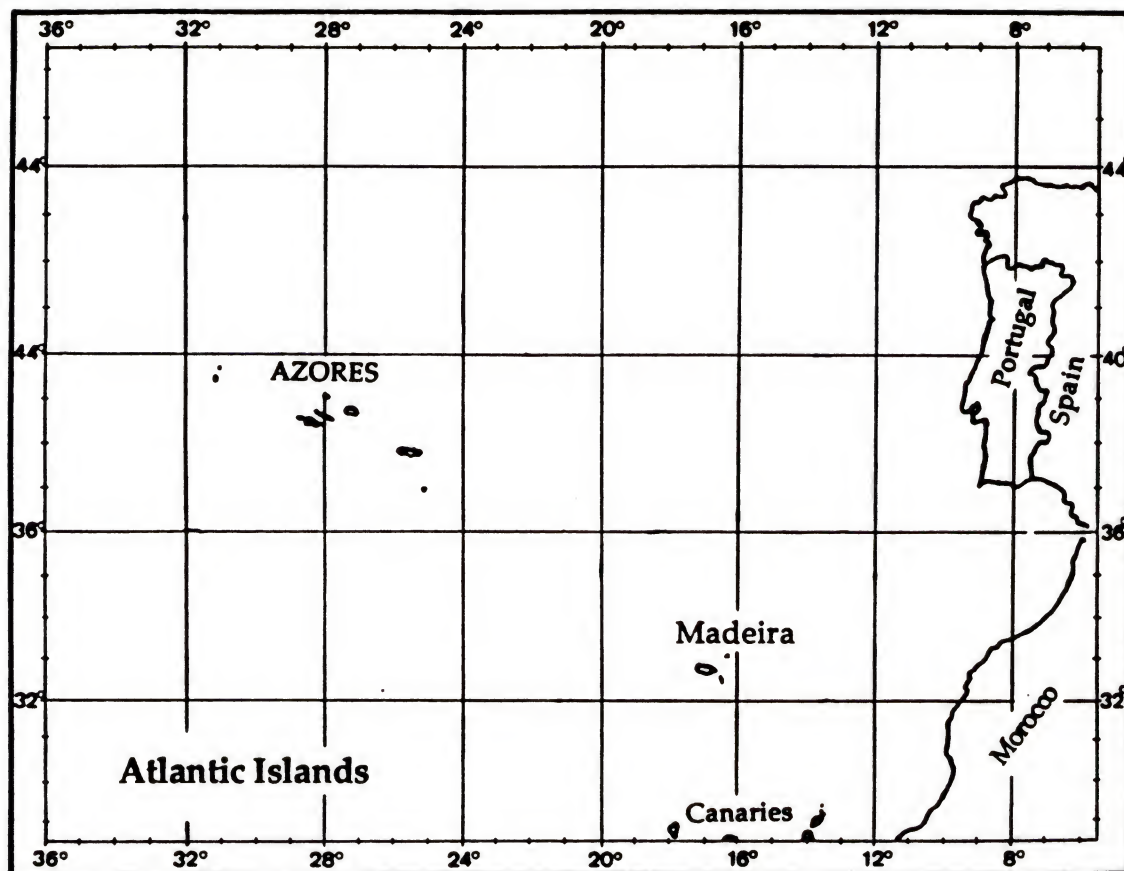
By

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A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

1989



Source: Adapted from DREPA 1984c

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Our research on the Azores Islands could not have been accomplished without the generosity and support of many people on the islands, in the United States and in Canada. Special thanks are reserved for António Francisco de Andrade and Maria Jesus de Andrade, of both Winnipeg, Canada and Faial, Azores. They stimulated our interest in the Azores, provided a house for us to live in on Faial, and as a result of their letters and telephone calls to their relatives on Faial, a welcome was waiting for us in the community when we arrived. We are indebted to António's and Maria's extended family for the warmth they showed us when we were just newcomers; for their help in settling in, and in becoming familiar with Azorean Portuguese and the layout of the island; and for their repeated gifts of vegetables, fruit, eggs, bread and information for our studies. Our move to Pico the following year was facilitated by Dora Andina Fraga Lopes Dias who arranged for us to live in a vacant family house on the island, and who also provided us with our initial contacts in the village. We are grateful to Dora Andina and her extended family for making our stay on Pico so comfortable and productive. During the periods when we were without a home on the islands, Jane and Robert Silverman invited us to share theirs. We always enjoyed their hospitality and interesting company. In addition, Jane

contributed much to my understanding about women's participation in the health care system in the Azores.

The majority of this dissertation is based on the life experiences of many women on Faial and Pico. To preserve privacy I will not mention names, although I would like to acknowledge each woman for her individual contribution to this dissertation and to my experience on the islands. Here, I will simply say that I sincerely thank them all for inviting me into their homes, for sharing their knowledge, thoughts, hopes, fears and skills, and for reaching reflectively into their pasts to help me understand the present.

Numerous people in government offices provided us with statistical resources and other useful information. I would like to thank Jorge Manuel Andrade Dias for information about Azorean cultural events and the social security system; Helena Martins at the Departamento de Oceanografia e Pescas, Universidade dos Açores in Horta; José Monjardino and other staff members at the Departamento Regional de Estudos e Planeamento; Mário Avila Gomes and Paulo Oliveira at the Direcção de Habitação, Urbanismo e Ambiente; the staff in the Direcção Escolar in Horta; the directors and several teachers in the Educação Permanente program; the staff at the Direcção de Serviços de Emigração; and the staff in several offices of the Serviço Regional de Estatística dos Açores. I would also like to thank the staff at the public libraries in Horta, Madalena, Angra do Heroísmo, Ponta Delgada and at the Whaling Museum in Lajes, Pico, who aided us in our search for archival materials. Discussions with Mariano Alves and Rolando Lalandia Gonçalves, both at the Universidade dos Açores, helped in the development of my thinking about education and work on the islands. Margarida Fortuna at the American Consul and Ana Tavera at the Universidade dos Açores provided us with information and helpful contacts for additional data.

I am particularly indebted to the chair of my committee, Dr. Anthony Oliver-Smith, who provided unstinting guidance and encouragement throughout my graduate studies, and offered thoughtful critiques of this dissertation as the writing progressed. Dr. Helen Safa gave generously of her time and carefully read various drafts of this dissertation. Dr. Safa provided a forum for me to creatively explore my ideas, both on an individual basis and in the context of her seminar on Women in Development. Dr. Paul Doughty has provided intellectual support and inspiration for all of my research experiences. Dr. Doughty's critique of the dissertation draft encouraged me to place rural Azorean women into the broader context of peasant society, and his comments led to my rethinking of the Azorean concept of *fechado*. Dr. Linda Wolf offered insightful comments on the dissertation draft and informative discussion on the subject of the honor/shame complex and other aspects of feminist theory and anthropology. Dr. Constance Shehan provided helpful suggestions from the perspective of sociology and Women's Studies. Dr. Marianne Schmink, who was unable to remain on the committee due to research commitments outside the United States, read an early draft of the dissertation. My final version has benefited substantially from Dr. Schmink's critique and suggestions.

The return from an extended stay in the field is always difficult, and a number of students offered their friendship, encouragement and an exchange of ideas while I wrote the dissertation: Barbara Hendry, Lois Stanford, Maria Cecília Rocha, Manuel Vargas, Gaye Biery-Hamilton, Robert Shanafelt, Sondra Wentzel, and Lois Randolph.

It would have been impossible to complete the long years of study, research and dissertation writing without my family's continued support and assurances that I was doing the right thing. I am very grateful to them.

It is most difficult to adequately express my thanks to Ron Harder, my partner in research and in life. Together we developed the research questions that we explored in our dissertations, and we shared the fieldwork experience in the Azores. I have gained immeasurably from the discussions we have had throughout our years together doing research and writing. The intellectual and emotional support that Ron has offered me has given me the space, the strength and the motivation to persevere in the writing, take risks with ideas, and go beyond what I might otherwise have done.

I take complete responsibility for any inaccuracies that may appear in this dissertation.

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Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School
of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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DECEMBER, 1989

Chairman: Anthony Oliver-Smith
Major Department: Anthropology

This dissertation is an analysis of the dialectical relationship between women's private and public roles on the Azores Islands. Using interviews, life histories and archival data, the study examines how women's roles in family life and household work, education, religion and employment have been affected by the policies of the Portuguese state and the Catholic Church in different historical periods. Through the establishment of law and the imposition of custom, the patriarchal ideologies of the state and the Church have defined the position of women within the private sphere of reproduction. However, when Azorean society went through phases of incorporation into a global market economy during the nineteenth century and again following the 1974 Portuguese revolution, ideological messages were revised to facilitate women's participation in paid production. Despite the liberalization of public policy, structural mechanisms that reinforce the

subordination of women and their primary relation to reproductive labor persist.

Social relations in the rural Azorean household and community were found to reflect an interpretive synthesis of dominant ideologies and local culture. Thus, while women's status is strongly related to the gender division of labor, the patterns of task specialization and the hierarchical dynamic of gender relations differ in their particular manifestation in response to the historical sociopolitical and economic circumstances. The research focuses on two islands in different stages of development. In peasant households where men and women engage in paid production as a means to maintain the peasant existence, household members remain oriented toward the private sphere, and unpaid household labor in both reproduction and subsistence production is highly valued. However, as household members engage in wage labor as a primary economic strategy, the orientation of the household moves toward the public sphere of income generation, and women's unpaid labor becomes devalued.

The dissertation concludes with a discussion of the impact of development on women. Plans for economic development in the Azores strongly rely on the availability of women to comprise a cheap labor source for tourism and proposed manufacturing facilities. Consequently, Azorean women are participating in education and employment in increasing numbers, but their status has not significantly improved.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Azorean Women in a Changing Society

One winter morning on the island of Pico in 1988, a small group of women were absorbed in conversation on the road outside of an elderly widow's house. This type of meeting was unusual because village streets in the Azores are typically deserted. In the past the village women had met daily at the island's edge where they washed clothes and drew water at a communal well. However, since the construction of household wells, and more recently, piped water, nobody uses the communal well anymore. The impromptu gathering of women in front of Sra. Maria Angelina's gate was related to another new addition to village life.¹ Maria Angelina had a telephone in her house and the four neighboring women had come to use her phone to call their migrant relatives in the United States. While they waited for the operator to ring, the women talked about some of the changes that were occurring on Pico. What particularly concerned the women that morning was how the new socioeconomic environment on the island was changing relations between men and women, and increasing problems between the different generations in the households.

¹ The names of the islands and the principal cities on each island are real. The names of villages and all personal names are pseudonyms.

Sra. Maria Angelina attributed the social problems in the village to men's excessive drinking. Most of the women concurred. However, one of the younger women, Maria Conceição, was concerned that I could be getting a false impression about village life. She turned to me, and said:

Listen, I don't know you, and you don't know me, but I am going to tell you something. Drinking is not the cause of our problems. You will notice that most men on the island do not drink too much. Heavy drinking, though, is a symptom of our times that afflicts some of the men.

Maria Conceição continued to explain that the causes of household tensions are economic:

Our relatives and neighbors who have migrated to America come back here and they drive fancy cars, wear nice clothes, and build large, modern houses. And the people on Faial are getting jobs, and getting paid well. Of course, we want to have the same things. But we are poor here. There is little employment, and the pay is low. This frustrates us, and shames our husbands. It is the shame that is causing our problems.

The type of shame that Maria Conceição refers to is a new phenomenon on the island. It grows out of self-comparison with relatives and former neighbors who have migrated and returned, and with the perceived fortune of those on other islands. The impact of the real financial difficulties that Pico households are experiencing is exacerbated by the examples of recent prosperity that Pico residents see around them. Economic development on the Azores Islands has been uneven. While many jobs and institutional and commercial facilities are being created on the neighboring island of Faial, Pico residents, as has historically been the case, must make do with less.

The Research Problem

This dissertation is an analysis of the changing position of women on the Azores Islands. In order to understand the present situation of Azorean women in a developing wage labor economy, I examine how women's private and public roles have changed through history. Using a diachronic perspective, I focus on how the roles of women in family life and household work, education, religion and paid employment have been affected by the policies of the state and the Catholic Church. In Portugal, the Church has always been a dominant force in society, although it has fallen in and out of favor with the state at different historical moments. The state and the Church have, as a collective force, historically defined the woman's role as that of a submissive, subordinated housewife, restricted to activities of the domestic domain. The most pervasive feature of this "official" ideology is that it has curtailed women's participation in public sphere activities and institutions that are regarded as the domain of men. However, Azorean culture is both a reflection of, and a response to, these dominant ideologies. On the village level and in the household where the daily negotiation of family and gender relations takes place, the women's position has not always conformed to the precepts of the state and the Church.

I examine Azorean women's lives in relation to two realms of societal experience--the public and the private spheres. For definitional purposes in this study the public sphere refers to the arenas of social interaction directly associated with the ideological forces of the state and the Church, such as politics, education and formal religious organization, as well as to productive activities related to capitalist growth, such as wage labor and production for the market. The private sphere refers to those aspects of social life that are oriented toward the domestic domain--the house, household relations,

household labor and subsistence production. The distinction implies a qualitative difference between the private and public spheres, for as I demonstrate throughout the dissertation, an imposition of a strict categorization becomes problematical. One reason is that the state and the Church retain some degree of control or influence over even the most private activities associated with the domestic domain. Also, distinctions become blurred when specific activities change their focus and orientation, or when activities generally associated with one sphere are carried on in conjunction with activities of the other. However, an analysis of the fluid nature of the actual content and social definition of women's and men's activities, and an examination of the interaction between the private and public spheres, provide a context in which to describe the changing cultural system on the village level. Social life in Azorean households and communities is a synthesis of both the public and private, and of the dominant ideology and local cultural interpretation, as villagers attempt to find a balance between two often contradictory aspects of life.

Therefore, in the Azorean village the private and public spheres are not mutually exclusive categories. According to state policy and Church doctrine in Portugal the private and public spheres exist as bounded space where the activities of women are rigidly defined in terms of inside the house versus outside the house. The dichotomization between how women should behave in the public and private spheres is clearly demarcated by Church policy. In the eyes of the Church, women's activity should be restricted to unpaid housework and childrearing and men should engage in wage work, political activity and other "official" duties. Ideologically, the public universe is reserved for the male while the private is the sanctuary of the female. In real life, however, this dichotomization is renegotiated. There are different

historical moments and ethnographic contexts when women move spatially, economically and socially into the public sphere. Conversely, when men participate in the peasant economy or are involved in domestic affairs, they are immersed in the world of the private domain.

This dissertation examines the relationship between the private and public on a number of different levels. To understand the interaction between the private and public spheres in the Azorean village it is important to outline how the state and the Church in Portugal have historically articulated policies concerning women's public participation in formal education, paid employment and Church ritual on one hand and how women should act in their private roles in marriage and motherhood on the other. Patriarchal policies and specific gender behavior are thus reinforced at the ideological level.¹ In this sense there is an official and legitimate guideline as to what constitutes private and public in Azorean society. In Chapter 3, I describe the specific policies of the state and Church and how these perpetuate the divisions between the private and public spheres in the Azores. Through institutions such as the Church and the schools, ideology provides the foundation with which Azoreans interpret how the social universe should be ordered between men and women.

Chapter 3 thus establishes the framework for the chapters that follow. In particular, throughout the dissertation I discuss how larger ideological tenets are redefined on the local level as both men and women engage socially and economically with each other. For example, during the Salazar dictatorship (1926-1974) Church and state policies sanctioned and legalized a

¹ I follow Keesing's (1981:512) definition of ideology as "a cultural belief system . . . that entails systematic distortion or masking of the true nature of social, political, and economic relations."

negative valuation and hierarchical subordination of women at the level of society as well as in the household. However, given the realities of survival under conditions of generalized political, social and economic oppression during the Salazar years, the prevailing attitude in Azorean households was one where all members worked together and their different contributions were highly valued. This contrasts with the current position of women in many households where the husband engages in wage labor. And Azorean peasant men, who are defined by the dominant ideological system as predominant actors in the public sphere, can be seen in reality to align their social orientation within the private sphere. In Chapter 6 I outline how religious practice in the Azorean village supersedes official Church doctrine so that women's participation in the social labor necessary for *festa* (festival) preparation, and in the performance of village rituals, integrates them into the public universe. During the important and recurrent secular *festas*, the *matança do porco* (pig slaughter) that I discuss in Chapter 7, women and men share in the communal labor of the ritual. Although many of the functions are gender specific, the distinctive divisions regarding what constitutes male as opposed to female activity is diffused in this ritual context.

Raymond Firth (1959) has delineated the distinction between the public and the private in terms of *de jure* and *de facto* rules. To Firth *de jure* rules are created within the context of the dominant institutions of a society and provide an ideological map for social interaction. One of the strongest and most prevalent *de jure* canons in Portuguese society is the notion of patriarchy or male dominance. *De facto* rules, on the other hand, provide the cultural map through which people organize their lives on a day-to-day basis. Throughout Azorean history neither the *de jure* nor *de facto* maps have been static, for, as Azorean society has gone through various phases of

incorporation into a global market economy, the ideological rules have shifted to facilitate and accommodate these changes. Thus, an important impetus for change in ideological orientation is economic. For example, the Portuguese state in the nineteenth century began to espouse a more liberal ideology in relation to what defined male and female labor activity. At the same time, Azorean women were directly initiated into commodity production (see Chapter 8). Another example that illustrates this process of gender redefinition on the Azores is the shifting labor activities that occur as a result of outmigration. While the traditional occupational category for women on the islands is housewife and mother, in migrant communities in North America Azorean women regularly find work in factories and through the sale of their labor enter the public sphere (see Lamphere 1987). Migration thus provides a context through which the definition of private and public is renegotiated to meet particular economic objectives. To allow their wives to work, and especially to reconcile this activity with their patriarchal cultural orientation, Azorean males need to constantly redefine how they interpret the female role in society. Throughout Azorean history when it has been expedient for Azorean women to enter the labor force both the *de jure* and *de facto* maps have been altered to accommodate the incorporation of women into the public sphere.

A major objective of this dissertation is to show how recent post-revolutionary changes in state policy that promote a broader definition of women's roles follow a consistent historical pattern. Since the 1974 revolution, there has been a realignment in state policy calling for the greater incorporation of women into public life. But while on an ideological level women are being welcomed into the public sphere as equals, many of the underlying patriarchal policies of the state which reinforce the subordinate

status of women still persist. Historically, when women have been needed to participate in capitalist expansion, the state facilitates their incorporation into the workforce by creating policies that promote greater freedoms and "equality" for women. These policies often take their most concrete form in plans for education and vocational training. However, the patriarchal conditions under which women's incorporation into the public sphere of activity takes place are disguised by the seeming liberalization of political policy. But the tensions inherent in the need to harness women's labor, and simultaneously preserve the family as the locus of social reproduction are born by the women, and not by the state or society. ✓

The historical pattern that I present is based on the following sequence. In Portugal in the early nineteenth century, the growing republican influence called for increased public education for women, while it continued to exalt the mother's domestic role. At that time Portugal was going through a period of attempted economic expansion, the political and social influence of the Church was being curtailed, and women were encouraged to conceive their roles in a broader fashion. In the Azores in 1835, the first widescale industry was introduced that utilized women's labor--the production of handmade embroidery and lace for export. This industry was established under the home-based putting out system, a form of labor mobilization that allowed Azorean women to meet their domestic responsibilities while at the same time engage in production for the market.

With the fall of the republicans in 1926 and the onset of Salazar's dictatorship, Portugal receded into political and economic isolation. The state and Church were again ideologically united. While Salazar's regime was known as the *Estado Novo* (the New State), the policies of the *Estado Novo* were based on the traditional definition of male and female roles. The

Portuguese state under Salazar actively attempted to return women to their "natural," nurturing place in the domestic domain. To ensure the return of women to the private sphere, the state provided little social support to the people. Women were relegated to the private sphere as the survival of the household depended on their reproductive labor and their domestic contribution to family life. Women, as mothers and as primary school teachers, were expected to socialize and tutor children in accordance with the ideology of the *Estado Novo*. Men, as heads of the household and the agricultural producers, were to be the family's mediators in the public sphere.

However, at the village level the public and private spheres of activity were more integrated than the dominant ideology prescribed. As Portugal turned inward, so did the community and the family. Through the dictatorship years, men and women had to cooperate in productive and reproductive endeavors to ensure the survival of the corporate household as labor activity on the islands revolved around production for domestic consumption. During the planting season and at times of harvest both men and women went to the fields. While men performed the heavier labor tasks such as driving the oxen, the whole family participated in the labor activity of the peasant economy. While on an ideological level a rigid hierarchical ordering of society was projected, on the local level of village and household activities, reciprocal and sharing relations both within the extended family and between neighbors were essential for survival. Thus, while ideology dictated that women remain in the private sphere of the domestic domain, women nevertheless participated in productive activity that took them away from the household.

Although I turn to a detailed treatment of the private/public debate later in this chapter, it is important here to mention a small caveat in the

usage of private and public in the Azores. Salazar perceived the role of women as housewives, mothers, and teachers who would reiterate his vision of the gender division of labor. The spatial domain where this socialization would take place was either the household or classroom. Women's productive activity was geared to the perpetuation of ideological doctrine. Women were responsible for both biological and social reproduction while activity associated with economic reproduction was the domain of the male. However, this idealized division of labor did not have any grounding in reality on the islands. Few men ventured out from the village to engage in wage labor but rather grew their crops and saw to their animals. They thus remained in close proximity to the household or the private domain. Women did not remain in the house but moved freely within the village to accomplish their daily productive and reproductive tasks. Therefore, the distinction between public and private, while allowing one to clarify certain economic and social behavior patterns between men and women, is also confusing because under specific economic conditions the boundaries that define gender behavioral types break down. The spatial and economic orientation of gender activity that Salazar promoted falls neatly into the public/private dichotomy if one simply defines this relationship in territorial or occupational terms. However, if one includes all activity associated with peasant domestic subsistence production as belonging in the private realm, then one would have to say that during the Salazar regime Azorean peasant men's activities were highly concentrated in the private sphere. The distinction that I am making here is between activity related to production for a market economy and production for household consumption.

The terms private and public, while not very useful in understanding the differences in gender participation in productive activity in a peasant

economy, gain explanatory power when one examines other facets of Azorean village life. During the Salazar regime, community solidarity was periodically strengthened through the performance of communal, "profane/religious" *feita* rituals. Under Catholicism the gender roles of ritual participation are rigidly proscribed. The hierarchical, male-dominated order of the Church reinforces the patriarchal umbrella that stands as a shadow over Azorean society. Women in accordance with Catholic doctrine do not have any official role in ritual performance. However, the Catholic rite has been reinterpreted on the local level and while women do not hold official duties their participation is crucial to an enactment of the rite. In Chapter 6 I examine how women have carved out their own niche in the public sphere of ritual performance.

While in the peasant economy the distinction between public and private was not strongly defined in the Azorean village, certain political and economic events occurred in the 1970s that have drawn Azorean peasants, both men and women, into the public sphere of capitalist production. Since the 1974 revolution in Portugal, the Azorean economic system has been transformed from an agrarian based economy to one predicated on industrial capitalist production. This transformation is part of a larger European program to prepare for complete integration of the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1992. In a pattern similar to that which occurred in the nineteenth century (see Chapter 8), Azorean women are again being incorporated into the public sphere of paid employment in order to facilitate capitalist expansion.

With the change in political regimes in Portugal from state fascism to state socialism, and the consequent alteration of economic policy, women's traditional roles in the private sphere and religion are being de-emphasized

in favor of their entrance into the mainstream public sphere of prolonged education and wage labor. Social and economic patterns that were established in the Azorean village during the Salazar regime are now being challenged as the economy is modernizing. The conflicts that are emerging in the Azorean village as the result of this modernization are based as much on generational differences as on gender distinctions. In the village thus far, there is some resistance on the part of the older generations to accepting the dictates of the dominant state ideology. At the same time, the younger generations of both sexes are eagerly embracing the prospects for wage employment.

In contrast to the Salazar regime, the post-revolutionary governments have not defined labor activity on male terms. Programs have been developed to prepare women for eventual employment. Day care centers and other facilities are being planned so that women can be freed from childcare responsibilities. But as women are being incorporated into the public sphere economically, will their social positions be redefined as well?

During the decade that encompassed the revolution, Azorean women's official economic participation has increased by 44% (DREPA 1984b). In 1981 women represented 18% of the labor force, and a government policy paper projects that by the year 1996, the percentage of women in the labor force will have increased to 36% (Fortuna 1984). The incorporation of women into the expanding labor force is essential if the Azores Islands are to become a full participant in the European community. However, women are not being brought into the public sphere of activity to claim their share of prestigious and lucrative political and economic career paths. Despite legislation to the contrary, the state is actively promoting sex-typing of professions. Women continue to fill the traditionally female occupations such as teachers and nurses, and in addition they hold the lower level white

collar jobs made available by the recent expansion of the tertiary sector. Sustained future development in the Azores is dependent upon the attraction of foreign investment in industry. The initial (and possibly only) stage will be export processing industries to be established in the recently created Azorean Free Trade Zone. A primary requirement of export processing is cheap labor, and women are the principal employees in these factories worldwide (Fernández-Kelly 1983a, 1983b; Safa 1986b).

The state is currently using a widespread system of training programs to prepare young people and older women to fill the low paid, dead-end factory jobs. While on the one hand the state is encouraging Azorean youth to stay in school longer and is thus creating in young women possibly unfulfillable expectations for obtaining high status "white collar" employment, on the other, for industries to be profitable in the Free Trade Zone they must keep labor costs to a minimum. Consequently, the ideological position of the state towards women has been modified since the dictatorship to facilitate women's incorporation into the public sphere of paid productive activity.

The entry of Portugal into the EEC requires that the country not only expand its productive capacity, but also create for itself and provide the other member countries with a consumer market. These two processes work together to bring on the second stage of labor force incorporation--the involvement of women in paid employment. Many young, unmarried women do claim that they now work or plan to acquire paid employment in order to achieve a measure of self-fulfillment and the power that may come with earning their own wage. However, an over-riding reason for women entering the labor force--and particularly for those now working--is connected to the stimulation in the Azores of a consumer ideology. This heightened

level of consumerism results in the need for more than one wage worker per household, and the simultaneous introduction of costly labor saving devices allows women to spend less time doing certain aspects of housework.

However, working mothers are rarely relieved completely of these daily reproduction activities. And childcare remains one of the most time-consuming and problematical aspects of domestic labor to reconcile with working outside the home. One solution is for the state to provide sufficient infrastructure for low cost public day care. The other is for the extended family to retain much of the responsibility for child rearing and early socialization. The former condition decreases the mothers' dependence on the extended family, while the latter reinforces the extended family unit. At the same time, the state introduces new mechanisms of integrating women into the public sphere of social and economic (if not always also political) activity, and these begin to take precedence over women's traditional activities. The Church is no longer allied with the state in its goals, nor is the domain of religious activity as beneficial to women's status as it was in the past. The modernization process thus impacts on all aspects of women's lives.

This dissertation explores the position of women within the historical context of the above economic and social relations on the Azores Islands. The Azores is a region that was relatively hidden from the world during the half century of dictatorship. Even since the revolution the islands have not elicited a tremendous amount of attention from social scientists. The most recent period of socioeconomic change is a drastic one, but it is only fifteen years into its development. The scope of this study, then, is to explain the conditions that have preceded and led up to the current situation, as well as to present the conditions that are now being created in the anticipation of

future economic development in the region. It is premature at this time to consider testing hypotheses about Azorean social behavior, as a larger ethnographic base of information is needed. This dissertation is an effort to broaden the ethnographic record for the region, and to generate hypotheses for future research.

Despite the lack of in-depth anthropological literature on the Azores, there is an abundance of local ethnographic data that sheds light on the position of women on the islands historically. I have made extensive use of these ethnographic accounts. In combination with my own field research, and that of social scientists who have focused on women in other societies, I have developed the following theoretical framework.

Theoretical Orientation

It can be said that work is only one aspect of a woman's life. Yet, in most societies it is by their work that people are categorized and judged. Work is a historical and cultural concept, and what people do, as well as the content of what is considered work, varies in time and place (Joyce 1987; Tilly and Scott 1978; Wallman 1979). The dominant political ideologies about social class, social status and gender, the local cultural interpretations of these notions, a person's life-cycle stage and position in a household, and an individual's access to particular resources interact to determine what types of work he or she can engage in (Deere 1987). The type of work activities that people do toward the maintenance or elevation of their own or their family's level of living, and the social relations involved in work activities strongly affect the remaining aspects of their lives. The question, then, of what women do, the conditions under which they work, and how the social value of what they do is perceived by themselves, their households, the

community, the labor market and the state is central to a discussion of women's position in society. The determination of women's possible work activities, in reproduction and production, in the domestic sphere and in the public sphere involves both material and ideological factors. These factors stem from conditions as diverse as state policy on women's access to education and training, the role of the Church in ideology making, and household composition and gender and generational relations. Jane Collins (1989:29) maintains that

Women's compliance with highly alienating and insecure forms of work is generated through complex cultural processes in which they learn to accept a vision of themselves and their productive contributions as less important and more expendable than those of male family members. . . . This dominant vision of women's role and worth is reproduced within the family, naturalized by medical practice, imposed by state institutions, and "sold" by the mass media and advertising.

Women's participation in the public sphere is thus strongly influenced by women's actual roles in the private sphere. Even though women engage in public sphere activity, the state, through various ideological mechanisms, continues to define and portray women's primary identification in relation to the private sphere. An examination of the interaction of the private and public spheres in women's lives, and how these are defined by different agents, then, is integral to an analysis of the position of women in society. Since women's lives are continually being phrased in terms of private/public distinctions, a discussion of this dichotomy is an important basis for an examination of the historical situation of Azorean women. The private/public distinction in this work is, however, more than a production of ideological factors. I use the private/public construct as a theoretical focus

to examine how Azorean women have historically moved between the two spheres of activity.

The Private/Public Perspective as an Organizing Principle

The distinction between the private (or domestic) sphere versus the public sphere was a commonly used framework during the 1960s and 70s in an attempt by social scientists to explain women's widespread, or as some would argue, universally subordinated social position. The private/public dichotomy has been varyingly conceptualized using one or a combination of the following criteria:¹ 1) The realm of biological and mental processes is used to explain how social roles are differentially ascribed to females and males. A woman's biological role in reproduction--pregnancy, birth, nursing and prolonged childcare--result in her confinement to the private sphere, while men's freedom from these restraints facilitates their monopoly of public sphere activities. 2) As a consequence of women's reproductive role in society, they are socialized to develop a particular psychological makeup and self-identification. 3) Space is seen as a delimiting factor restricting women's activities to those accomplished in the private world while men make their way in the public. 4) Institutions are used as organizational platforms that delineate the different roles of females and males. Women are associated with those institutions surrounding the mother-child relationship, and men are connected with institutions that override or subsume this dyadic relationship. 5) The ideological or value system of a society is seen to be organized around the domestic/public dichotomy. 6) The "official" dominant

¹ These criteria (except #6) relating to the formulation of the private/public framework are discussed in terms of a variety of formulations and applications in Dubisch (1986), Reiter (1975) and Rosaldo and Lamphere (1974).

ideology of private=female and public=male is contrasted with the local interpretation which oftentimes does not conform.

In researching the roles of women all of the above criteria surface as one examines the position of women in society. The private/public debate, even though it has become enveloped in controversy, did provide a context for discussion of the differences between women's and men's lives cross-culturally. That women and men engage in different social and economic pursuits is agreed upon by most researchers. It is the causal elements which reinforce these distinctions that form the subject of the dialogue. The arguments center on the nature versus nurture debate in anthropology. One position is held by the extreme sociobiologists such as Robin Fox (1975) and Steven Goldberg (1979) who base the inferior position of women in biological terms. In contrast, anthropologists such as Eleanor Leacock (1981) and June Nash (1978) advocate an economic framework.

Sherry Ortner (1974), in a frequently cited article entitled "Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture?" argues that since women in many societies are associated with the domestic sphere due to their physiological and consequently, social, roles in reproduction, their status is ascribed as closer to nature than to culture. Conversely, men are seen as closer to the more highly regarded realm of culture, "human consciousness and its products" (Ortner 1974:73). Ortner maintains that while no social process operates in absolute terms,

culture (still equated relatively unambiguously with men) recognizes that women are active participants in its special processes, but at the same time sees them as being more rooted in, or having more direct affinity with, nature. (1974:73)

Since the public sphere is more visible, it was often assumed that women hold no power or authority in any realm. Friedl (1967) and others¹ countered this assertion for the case of Greece, arguing the need for a distinction between "appearance and reality." In Greece, the dual spheres of social life afford women control in the domestic domain. However, in many societies, power, authority or high status in the private sphere does not guarantee or transfer to power in the public sphere (Sanday 1974). And Bourque and Warren (1981) argue that any power achieved in the private sphere is likely to be undermined by the greater political and economic institutions of society. Karen Sacks (1974:219) explains that

In class societies the economic and political autonomy of a household is quite restricted. Thus, in necessary dealings in the public sector women are at a disadvantage. This probably militates against even domestic equality.

By the end of the 1970s, the private/public dichotomy was strongly criticized as a research strategy, by some social scientists who preferred to substitute for it another dichotomy--production versus reproduction (Babb 1986; Mies 1982). Private/public was seen as being too narrow in scope, utilizing space rather than activity as the perspective of analysis. Viewed this way, the private/public dichotomy does have little basis in reality if women leave the domestic domain to work in the fields, get water from the public well, bring the grain to the mill, etc. But here we are already speaking of productive activity as well as spatial parameters.

When the private/public concept is extended beyond the material realm of space or activity and is used as a generalized cultural construct, the

¹ An entire 1967 issue of *Anthropological Quarterly* was dedicated to these problems.

perspective retains strong explanatory capabilities. Moore (1988:21) asserts that

the 'domestic' versus 'public' model has been, and remains, a very powerful one in social anthropology because it provides a way of linking the cultural valuations given to the category 'woman' to the organization of women's activities in society.

Jill Dubisch's 1986 edited volume includes in Friedl's early (1967) contribution to this analysis. The entire collection of articles argues for the preservation of the private/public dichotomy for the analysis of Greek social organization. Dubisch writes in her introduction:

Investigation of the domestic (or private)/public dichotomy and its relationship to gender roles is especially important in Greece where, as in other Mediterranean societies, the dichotomy is highly developed and strongly gender-linked. . . . The division between private and public is behaviourally demarcated as well, . . . for as many anthropologists working in Greece have noted, the roles of women and men are strongly linked to the division between domestic and public realms. (1986:10-11)

The private/public perspective is useful for examining the contradiction between dominant, ideology making culture and local cultural interpretation. The state and Church in predominantly Catholic countries reinforces an ideal of the restriction of women to the domestic sphere, while they reserve the formal positions in the political and Church hierarchy for men (Almeida Fernandes and Palmeiro Duarte 1985; Porter and Venning 1976; Sinclair 1986). While formal religious doctrine restricts women's religious participation, it is often overlooked that in local public religious practice women are the central figures (Riegelhaupt 1973).

In the realm of work, recent ethnographies that take into account women's daily productive and reproductive activities indicate that contrary

to popular conception, women's roles, while varying from society to society, necessitate their repeated absence from the private domain. It is only women of wealthy households who can uphold the ideal of seclusion. Dubisch (1986) maintains that it is a mistake to consider the preeminence of women's association with the private and men's with the public to mean that each group's interaction in society is strictly limited to those respective domains. Public and private spheres are thus not alternate words for gender roles. Rather, they are important cultural concepts in Mediterranean and other Catholic societies for conceptualizing a local value system, and an ideological order.

In many societies, such as Greece, Spain and the continental regions of Portugal, the private and public spheres are closely linked with both the dominant ideology and local interpretation about women's and men's appropriate spheres of action. For example, the Portuguese expression "*A mulher na casa; o homem na rua*" (The woman in the house; the man in the street) applies, at least in the world view, if not in the reality of daily life. However, it is too often blanketly assumed that this concept is appropriate for all Mediterranean and Catholic countries. The idea of a man's life led in the public arena, and a woman's in the private is not meaningful to Azoreans because the Azores is not traditionally a public oriented culture. Except for ritual participation, rural men's *orientation* has been toward the private sphere of household relations, as has women's. While women's economic activities take them repeatedly into public, and men's activities occur primarily outside the home, the Azorean peasant's identification is with the domestic domain. The family is the unit of social interaction and production, and this norm in the peasant economy is legitimately violated only during communal feasts.

The urban situation presents the opposite extreme that can indicate changes that may take place in the future in the rural areas. Wage working men who live in the city are oriented toward leisure time public sociability in bars, restaurants and the city square with their male friends. Most of their wives, even those who work outside the home during the day, remain at home in the evening with the children. Consequently, the isolation of urban women in the private sphere is intensified. This is an important theoretical point for the Azorean case. If the urban situation can be taken as an indication of coming trends in rural values as villagers become more incorporated into wage labor and less involved in peasant production, it will have important ramifications for rural household relations. As in the urban areas, a dual association will develop where women are linked with the most restrictive, least liberating aspects of both the private and public spheres. With capitalist expansion, men's identification with the domestic sphere may gradually decrease.

At times, it is difficult to categorize men's and women's work activities as either private or public. For example, agricultural fieldwork is often considered a public sphere activity because it takes place outside the domestic domain. In the production and sale of surplus, the worker interacts with the public institution of the marketplace. However, in a situation where little surplus is extracted, the primary orientation of the household agricultural worker is not outward towards the market, but inward towards family subsistence. In this setting of the peasant village, unpaid agricultural work becomes a private sphere activity. In contrast to wage work performed in the urban, public sphere, fieldwork on family land is performed within the confines of the community and so is analogous with the domestic, private sphere. Men's agricultural activities can be seen on the local level as

functional counterparts to women's domestic activities. Men and women work both separately and together in production and transformation for the maintenance of the household and the reproduction of its members. Thus, while men internalize to some degree the predominant notion of patriarchy, everyday activities must necessarily proceed along different lines. Therefore, despite dominant state and Church ideology to the contrary, in the traditional Azorean peasant economy gender relations were and are more characteristic of a complementarity of function rather than exploitation.¹ Men's and women's activities are both highly valued by household members, and women participate to a great extent in household decision-making.

This situation is transformed for the worse with a shift in orientation from family labor in a subsistence economy to wage labor in a consumer economy. Private and public activities become more differentiated when production largely takes place in a location that is not only physically outside the private sphere, but is associated with outsiders to the private sphere (Berg 1987; Lewenhak 1988; Tilly and Scott 1978). The wage and subsequent consumer purchases take precedence over unpaid, reproductive and even productive activities. The public sphere where the wage is earned becomes associated with the economic sphere of social life, and comes to dominate the private. Sacks (1974:211) maintains that

as production for exchange eclipsed production for use, it changed the nature of the household, the significance of women's work within it, and consequently women's

¹ Here I am referring to gender relations in terms of actions and attitudes within the household that occur in the course of daily household maintenance and survival. I am not attempting to claim that women's internal influence extended beyond the household, nor that given the wider structure of society, that women were not in a generally subordinated position to men.

position. . . . [Women's] labor was a necessary but socially subordinate part of producing an exchangeable surplus.

This is particularly true with a change from subsistence production to wage labor. In the Azores the recent infusion of funds from the European Economic Community has created the infrastructure for family and production subsidies as well as wage labor jobs. This investment has introduced into the Azorean economy a sense of security such that people are working as much out of a culturally defined need as out of economic necessity. As the desire for a cash income grows, men's agricultural fieldwork is increasingly combined with or substituted by the socially more prestigious public sphere wage work in the city. Women take on the added burden of agricultural field work, but it no longer carries the social value that it did in the past. While it is estimated that in developing countries women perform about 50% of the agricultural work, their labor may not be viewed as significant "work." Rather, women's agricultural labor is viewed as the wife's "help," and it is recategorized as an extension of housework (Boserup 1970; Deere and León 1987; Leacock 1981; Lem 1989).

However, it must be kept in mind that any "society" is not a uniform whole, and the evaluation of different types of work will vary with the social position and life cycle stage of the individual. For example, rural household elders who were socialized to understand work to be hard, manual productive and reproductive labor in the house and in the fields, and did not place a cash value on each activity, will not value office work highly, or consider it "real" work, despite the monetary return. This functions to slow, but not altogether prohibit, changes in the household division of labor. Young people in multigenerational households may be required by their elders to continue to do "traditional" work along with wage work. Partially

this attitude of the elders represents the need for family labor in the house and the fields, but it also stems from their perception of the final objective of work. Women's transition to wage work causes conflicts between members of the household (Lamphere 1974) and may ultimately lead to changing household composition (Tilly and Scott 1978). Married women may meet resistance both from their husbands and from their elders, particularly their mothers-in-law (Lamphere 1974). The discrepancy that arises as a result of the differential evaluation of "work" activities contributes to intrahousehold tensions (see Chapters 5 and 8).

What emerges, then, with rapid capitalist expansion is a conflict between different spatial and social spheres. Historically in the Azores, there has been a continual interaction between the state, the Church, the family and the production process. Thus, the definition of women's activity as located in the private or public domain depends on the nature of the dialogue between these four elements at particular historical moments.

Loci of Subordination: The State, the Workplace and the Family

An important debate in anthropology concerns the universality of women's subordination. Most of the contributors to the 1974 volume edited by Rosaldo and Lamphere argue that women have always been subject to subordination by men. Others, following or expanding upon Engel's (1972) thesis about the role of private property in the subordination of women maintain that equality of gender existed before the occurrence of commodity production and class relations under colonialism and capitalism (Etienne and Leacock 1980; Leacock 1978; Nash 1978; 1986; Sacks 1974). For example, Sacks (1974) holds that it is not private property, but the exclusion of women from public or social labor that denies them adult status in society, thus making

them dependents of men. Leacock and others argue that women's position in society is linked to whether they have access to resources, and whether they control their working conditions and the distribution of what they produce (Moore 1980:32).

In order to understand the distinctions and interaction between the private and public spheres, the spatial arenas must be defined in which this social interchange occurs. Safa (1989, in press) maintains that women's subordination occurs within three levels--the state, the workplace, and the family--and that although the levels interact, they are also analytically distinct. Where some theorists cite the family as the principal source of the patriarchal oppression of women (Barrett 1980; Harris 1984; Hartmann 1987; Kessler-Harris 1982), Safa (1989, in press) argues that "it is true that the social construction of gender takes place largely within the family and is reflected at other levels of society. However, this does not eliminate the labor market or the state as independent sources of women's subordination." I would add that since gender ideology is created at the state level for the purpose of furthering the political and economic goals of the state, this ideology is also reflected downward, having an impact at the levels of the workplace and in the family.

The state. State policies expressed in the law of the civil codes, family codes, labor codes, and other legislation establish structural boundaries within which women can act. Laws that govern whether women can attend school, vote and hold political leadership, inherit equally, control their own property in marriage, function as heads of households, engage independently in commercial enterprise, participate in wage labor activities, or travel freely affect women in every aspect of their lives (Deere 1987). On one hand, state patriarchy manifested in law affects women on the level of the family because

the ideology represented by the discriminating laws works its way into the consciousness of household members, and influences people's attitudes and behavior. On the other hand, people resist or ignore the dominant ideology when it is antagonistic to their interests and decreases the household's chances for survival or mobility.¹ This issue of the contradictions between *de jure* and *de facto* rules is recurrent in my discussion of the dictatorship years and the current post-revolutionary period in the Azores.

In a contrasting situation, particularly that of socialist oriented states like post-revolutionary Portugal, the state emphasizes gender equality (Croll 1986; Molyneux 1984, 1985). But to understand the "political uses of female labour" (Lewenhak 1988), it is important to look behind the surface aims of the state to uncover why certain policies, such as women's increased access to education, are being promulgated and to what end and extent they are being instituted. As Molyneux (1984:56) writes: "If it is the combination of principle and necessity which promotes sexual equality in socialist states, the unevenness of the record of achievement reflects this uneasy alliance." For instance, if the state is in a phase of instituting an accelerated economic development plan, as is Portugal, women's public labor is necessary for the plan's success. Certain sectors of the economy are deficient in labor, and under the guise of liberation and equality, women are guided toward preparation to fill these work roles.

¹ Deere (1987:36) conceptualizes household economic, or "income generating" strategies as "relations of struggle in the attempt of households to reproduce themselves as units of production and reproduction over time." Schmink (1984:91) distinguishes two differentially motivated kinds of household economic strategies: survival strategies and mobility strategies. They correspond, respectively, to short-term and long-term arrangements and differ in regard to social class, in the amount of income they generate and types of activities they employ.

The incorporation into the labor force of women who previously did not work outside the home usually proceeds with women regarded as secondary workers, working to help out their husbands. The perspective of the state and employers is that since the work women do in the house goes unpaid, then the labor that they do in the public sphere can be correspondingly low paid (see Benería and Roldán 1987; Lewenhak 1988; Mies 1982). The maintenance of this attitude is useful to the state because it justifies the low wages paid which are beneficial to furthering capitalist development, and at the same time ensures that women retain primary responsibility for household reproduction. Women, in providing domestic services that would otherwise have to be purchased, subsidize wage workers' inadequate wages and free some of the household's income for consumer purchases. These purchases are essential to an expanding capitalist economy. Therefore, the state, whether overtly or more subtly, actively promotes sex-typing of professions, and women end up in the lower paid occupations (Benería and Roldán 1987; Bettio 1988; Schmink 1986).

State-inspired sex-typing of jobs has direct ramifications for women's status and treatment in the workplace, and also in the home. In a consumer economy where women are expected to work for wages, the wage takes on more importance than do women's unpaid activities. Domestic labor is then undervalued by men (Stolcke 1984; Young 1978). When the wife's wage is less than her husband's, her contribution is correspondingly valued as less, and this discrepancy is translated into lessened power for women in the home. Stolcke argues that in Brazil before the incorporation of sharecroppers into wage labor, women's domestic and farm work was viewed as equal to men's labors. But with increasing dependence on and valuation of wage labor, women must work more than men to fulfill the expectations made of

them. Women in many cases continue to be regarded primarily as housewives, regardless of their economic contribution to the household. Even specific state legislation in socialist societies regarding the equality of wives and husbands, and the high social value of domestic labor cannot completely override the ideology of inequality that is reinforced in the home as a result of unequal integration of women and men into the wage labor force (Croll 1986; Molyneux 1985; Morokvasic 1984; Stubbs and Alvarez 1987).

The workplace. State ideology about women's place in the workforce translates into a new form of subordination for women. Job gendering prohibits women from choosing professions that are categorized in the male domain, and encourages women to enter a specific set of "feminized" professions, such as nursing and teaching. This occurs even though there may be explicit government legislation to prevent this. Women are seen as passive, patient and nimble-fingered, and as secondary workers able to be additionally exploited by their acceptance of lower pay than men. Gender ideology influences who employers will hire, and who they will promote (Benería and Roldán 1987; Lewenhak 1988).

The family. Women's roles in the household are influenced by both material and ideological factors that interact with, and mediate within, the structure of social relations in the household. Benería and Roldán argue that

The problem is to build a unifying theory and analysis in which material and ideological factors are an integral aspect of our understanding of gender subordination, while women's subordination is an integral part of our understanding of economic and social reality. (Benería and Roldán 1987:10)

The household can appear, and is often described as though it is a cohesive unit motivated by unification of purpose. But Lem (1989) and Hartmann

(1987) argue that individual needs are often forfeited to those of the household, sometimes willingly out of economic necessity, but also due to direct coercion by the patriarch who wields power through recognized authority. "The character of the domestic unit is shaped by the interplay of ideological and economic forces that obtain in struggle and negotiation....The content of the obligations of family ties must then be specified in relation to contexts" (Lem 1989:10). Conflict characterizes domestic relations. But in particular contexts, conflict may coexist with cooperation because relations that are exploitative may be viewed as functional for the survival and maintenance of the domestic unit (Humphries 1977). The movement of women from the private sphere of the household to the public sphere of the workplace serves as a conceptual framework in this study for understanding the changing roles of women on the Azores Islands.

Peasant Households, Wage Work and the Objective of Existence

The degree and manner in which the household is integrated into the capitalist system affects a woman's position. Deere (1987:39) emphasizes that a household encompasses multiple class relations, and these must be identified in order to understand "the level of peasant household reproduction." Semi-proletarianization of the household, where one or more members works full time or temporarily in wage labor, may be the mechanism by which the household survives as a unit of production and consumption. Wage work contributes to the household income in the attempt at "reproduction of the household labor force at moral/historical standards" (Deere 1987:50). Deere differs from other theorists, such as Warman (cited in Deere 1987:49), in her recognition that the primary class

relation, or objective of existence of a peasant household (petty commodity producer) may or may not be in the reproduction of that same class relation. This is an important point in distinguishing the difference between Azorean household economic strategies before and after the 1974 revolution. During and prior to Salazar's dictatorship, impoverished rural villagers engaged sporadically in wage labor in order to maintain a minimum level of existence on their land. The wage and their labor did not take a commoditized form in that income was used to purchase or aid in the production of essential use values. As Tilly and Scott (1978:13) wrote of eighteenth century French peasants, "Whatever the expedients they adopted to make ends meet, these rural people remained peasants, and the family's life ultimately was organized around the property, no matter how small the holding." In such a situation, household domestic labor and agricultural fieldwork retain their social value.

In contrast, since Portugal's explicit initiation of economic development programs, and the country's entry into the European Economic Community, Azoreans are now integrally tied to the consumer oriented western world. They continue to practice subsistence agriculture and some cattle raising for sale. The income from their wage labor jobs is not imperative for most households to maintain their existence at a "moral/historical" level, and the wage is not used predominantly as capital to be turned back into the productive process. Rather, a consumer economy has developed in the Azores and former luxuries are now perceived as necessities. Commodities have taken on a cultural form symbolic of success in a modern world, and labor is valued by the commodities it can be exchanged for.

This has serious repercussions in the household because when labor becomes socially commoditized the functional division of labor characteristic of the subsistence oriented peasant household dissolves, and domestic labor is undervalued. With increasing consumerism and modernization of village services that entail monthly cash payments, the focus of attention becomes the weekly wage. Value is accorded those activities that bring in a cash income. Consequently, daily and generational reproductive labor (Deere 1987), the transformation of agricultural products into edible and usable forms, and the non-fieldwork agricultural tasks done by women are valued less than in the past. Women who spend twelve to fourteen hours a day doing domestic labor are no longer seen as doing "work". Wage labor, if participation is restricted to males, reinforces the ideology of the male as economic provider. This attitude is economically and culturally conditioned (Leacock 1981; Nash 1978).

Deere and León de Leal (1982) studied labor participation in three regions of South America, each in a different degree of capitalist development. They found that "the lesser degree of differentiation in the noncapitalist region, and the lower participation of women in agricultural fieldwork, suggest that the sex differentiation of tasks is much more rigid in this case" (Deere and León de Leal 1982:87). In contrast, I argue that if male activities are considered as well as female activities, the opposite conclusion can be made. The "flexibility" in gender-specific activities is unidirectional. Women may take on increased agricultural activities, such as milking the cows or other forms of fieldwork, as a result of male participation in wage labor (Minge-Kalman 1978). But, as non-wage working wives of wage laborers expand into these broader areas of work, their husbands' roles become increasingly narrower. Men's work becomes strictly limited to their

wage job and the agricultural fieldwork tasks that they may continue to do. Where once they would have aided the women at least in seasonal, labor intensive female agricultural tasks, they no longer are willing or have time enough to do so. Meanwhile, the women in these households retain all responsibility for reproductive work in addition to the new agricultural tasks they have taken on.

It is important, then, to consider the social valuation of how women's domestic labor is viewed by the members of the household, as well as by the broader society. Are women's reproductive activities considered productive, valued work, or are they "just" housework? During the 1970s an academic debate concerning the value of domestic labor for capitalist accumulation was at its height.¹ One position maintained that unpaid domestic labor, as external to the capitalist process, is productive in the marxian sense of creating surplus value by lowering the value of labor power (Deere 1979; Seccombe 1974). Another position held that domestic labor is only indirectly productive in its function in the reproduction of labor power (Dalla Costa 1972). The third view saw domestic labor as socially necessary, but not productive (Molyneux 1979; P. Smith 1978). J. Smith, et al (1984) maintain that household relations are not, in themselves, capitalist relations, but they are at the heart of capitalism. Housework does not lie outside the law of value because the "functioning of the law of value depends on it not being universally applied" (1984:8). Norman Long, in his introduction to *Family and Work in Rural Societies* (1984), presents Bennholdt-Thomsen's (1984) thesis that non-wage household labor--both subsistence production and

¹ This debate has been periodically resurrected, and reviewed in several places--most recently in Burton (1985) and Collins (1989).

housework--produce use-values that are later converted into exchange values when a product is marketed or labor power is sold. In this way, unwaged labor contributes to capital accumulation and is subsumed within capitalist relations of production. But Long criticizes Bennholdt-Thomsen and others for generalizing without regard for societal or contextual differences. Skar, in the same volume, uses the example of interhousehold cooperation in southern Peru to show that particular cultural circumstances may allow subsistence relations of reciprocity to persist.

An overriding characteristic of the community's economy is the persistence of social forms which may be seen as barriers to the encroachment of capitalist expansion. This is not to say that villagers do not participate in market transactions but rather that cultural norms largely expressed through the quality of work relationships effectively protect the subsistence sector of the economy from market intrusion. (Skar 1984:83)

Thus, while certain conditions may be common to different cases, it is necessary to consider the particular cultural/historical situation when examining women's position in society. When a society is not yet fully integrated into capitalist relations of production, certain attitudes characteristic of the peasant economy will be reinforced, and may serve to slow full integration. In the Azores, there has been periodic movement from a peasant economy to a wage working migrant society. Historically, Azorean peasants on the islands have been partial participants in the capitalist system. In recent years, it is the maintenance of noncapitalist relations in terms of shared domestic and agricultural work that has allowed households to achieve a higher than minimum level of existence. But with the recent infusion of EEC money and future plans for economic development, a larger amount of labor is needed for the continuation of growth, and the region is

gradually moving toward full integration into capitalist relations. Women's labor will become particularly crucial to development of the region's secondary sector. Full incorporation of women into the public sphere of production will have an important affect on the character of household relations and the gender and generational division of labor in the household.

Organization of the Dissertation

Chapter 2 places women within a brief general history of the Azorean archipelago, and relates significant socioeconomic developments to the larger entities of the Portuguese and world economies. The chapter also describes the current-day setting of the research in terms of the Azores Islands in general, and the two specific islands under study, Pico and Faial. The third section of the chapter is a discussion of the research methods used in this study.

Chapter 3 is an historical discussion of formal education and informal socialization, the media through which the Portuguese state and the Catholic Church have perpetuated their ideologies about women's social and economic roles in the private and public spheres of society. The chapter traces the periods of collaboration and conflict between these two institutions, and the resulting consequences for women in the Azores.

Chapter 4 begins a discussion of the context in which almost all Azorean women live: the private sphere of the family or household. The chapter outlines the processes of courtship and marriage, and how these are changing as young women are increasingly involved in the public sphere activity of prolonged education and paid employment in the towns or cities.

Chapter 5 expands the discussion of the household itself. It examines the concept of public and private domains as they relate to the composition

and lifecycle of the Azorean household, and the use of space in the house and its environs. This sphere has historically been the locus of Azorean daily life for the entire family, and remains so for those households still involved primarily in the peasant economy. An understanding of the makeup and organization of space in the Azorean household, the interaction between its members and with people external to the domestic unit, and how these relationships are changing with increased integration into the wage labor force forms a foundation for the subsequent chapters.

Chapter 6 examines some of the means by which rural Azorean women have traditionally broadened their access to public sphere activity. The chapter focuses on women's participation in official Church activities and in the performance of locally conceived profane/religious ritual. It concludes with an analysis of how changing state economic policy is beginning to result in the diminishing significance of these historically important aspects of women's lives.

Chapters 7 and 8 entail a historical discussion of women's work roles in the Azores. Chapter 7 examines women's unpaid reproductive labor and the production and transformation of agricultural products for household use and the market. Chapter 8 examines women's income producing work in the production of non-food items, and the recent incorporation of women into the wage labor force. While these different activities are simultaneously ongoing in varying combinations, for clarity they are presented separately.

Chapter 9 discusses the direction that economic development plans for the Azores have laid out for the future of the islands, and the possible affect that this development will have on the roles and position of Azorean women.

CHAPTER 2 THE AZORES ISLANDS: HISTORY AND RESEARCH LOCALE

The Azores Islands in History

Azorean society represents a paradox of extremes. Different cash crops have been introduced on the islands over the centuries and this has reinforced the dependency that exists between the Azores and the larger world. Economically the Azores are thus an open society subjected to the vagaries of the larger market economy. Yet in another way the Azores are an extremely closed society. Through the influence of the state and Church and the historical promotion of a patriarchal world order, gender distinctions on the islands have been strictly maintained. In this chapter I outline some of the changes that have occurred historically to perpetuate this pattern of economic openness on one hand and social rigidity on the other.

The Azores were discovered in 1426, but settlers did not arrive until 1442 after Henry the Navigator installed the first *donatarios* on the islands. Unlike the later Portuguese as well as Spanish and French experiences in the Americas where European men were the major participants in colonial expansion, women likely accompanied the first settlers to the Azores Islands. In the Americas, many of the early colonists married or mated with native women and their offspring were stigmatized as mixed bloods, metis and mestizos. While colonial men retained their status, these mothers of their

children received differential treatment from their colonizers. Thus, in the colonial New World women were assigned a subservient status from the outset. In contrast, the women who arrived in the Azores, while not official and social equals of men, did not have to contend with the factor of racial stigmatization that inevitably manifested itself in class distinctions in the Americas.

The Azores Islands, a Portuguese Atlantic archipelago, are located at their midpoint 760 miles from Lisbon. They were settled over a thirty year period beginning in 1442. The first islands to be inhabited were the two easternmost, Santa Maria and São Miguel. The settlers of these islands came largely from the Alentejo and Algarve regions of southern Portugal. The central islands of Terceira, Faial and Pico were given to Flemish captains who recruited settlers from Flanders as well as from Portugal. The original settlers were a diverse group of Portuguese with aristocratic ambitions, entrepreneurial merchants of different nationalities, and peasants and city folk disillusioned with life on the continent. These settlers did not come to plunder and conquer as the Europeans would in later colonial contexts. The settlers who arrived in the Azores came to an uninhabited frontier, and women as well as men shared in the hardships of constructing a society on virgin soil. Some of the settlers arrived as family units. Others found mates after they came to the islands. The social and cultural patterns that these settlers employed to build island society were derived from the European model. The Azores in their early years resembled a facsimile of southern European society (Oliveira Marques 1976). Thus, the model for the construction of a new society in the Azores had a strong patriarchal bias from the beginning.

The mercantile strategy of the Portuguese crown was already well established by the time of the colonization of the Azores, and crown policies on the islands were oriented toward the export of goods for the larger European market. During the first hundred years of settlement wheat was grown and exported to the expanding Portuguese empire and pastel, a dye, was shipped to northern Europe. In addition to these major export crops, sugar cane, barley and timber were also shipped from the islands.

According to Maria da Rocha Gil (1981), there were three levels of activity which constituted and contributed to the workings of the mercantile system on the islands. The first level consisted of those who were involved in the primary level of production. This strata included agricultural laborers who were small land holders and who operated the *prazos* (a form of freeholding) and peasants who worked on the larger estates. Those involved in this sector produced both goods for sale on the larger market and for subsistence purposes.

The second level of activity was related to local commerce. Both merchants based in the cities and members of the aristocracy were involved in the negotiations and transactions that needed to be made for products to reach the market. The interaction of these two groups led to co-operation and accords that were advantageous to both groups. Da Rocha Gil (1979:98) notes that the "nobility" would have had a difficult time living solely on agricultural rents, and that the interests of the aristocracy and the merchants who intermediated these products for export were intrinsically aligned. Over time, the interests of local merchants and landowners coincided so that the *grande propriedades* engaged in commercial transactions and the merchants invested their profits in land. Land provided the merchants status and

security and allowed them to intervene directly in the productive process. As a class the two groups were at times indistinguishable (Harder 1989).

The third level of economic activity concerned the marketing and circulation of commodities on the larger European market. Active on this level were international commercial agents who mediated the extraction of primary resources by selling these commodities in international markets, and who returned produced goods such as textiles for sale on the islands.

In 1620 more than a dozen English merchants lived at Ponta Delgada and busied themselves with the exchange of pastel for English textiles and manufactures. (Duncan 1972:105)

Discoveries and new markets were opening up possibilities for commercial transactions and the increasing circulation of commodities led to a corresponding numerical growth in agents looking for economic fortune. Part of the attraction of the Azores for an international merchant class was their strategic position in the Atlantic. Merchant ships brought to the Azores codfish from the North Atlantic Grand Banks, sugar cane from the West Indies, slaves from Africa and textiles from northern Europe. Some of these commodities, such as slaves, did not remain on the islands in any quantity, but were unloaded and redirected to other destinations. Imported salt cod (*bacalhãu*) became a popular food on the islands and remains today a highly regarded, but extremely expensive festive food. Rogers (1979:237) comments that "One Azorean import which makes little sense to me is dried codfish." However the introduction of codfish into the Azorean diet becomes less baffling when one considers that dried and salted *bacalhãu* was an important protein source on long-distance voyages. Since the Azores were a provisioning station for these ships, there were ample stores of *bacalhãu* available locally. Dried codfish was also a significant component in the

triangular mid-Atlantic trade. Textiles were another commodity brought to the Azores, and these became a form of currency that was traded on the islands in exchange for primary materials (Rocha Gil 1979).

The class hierarchy that was installed on the islands at the time of settlement consisted of an aristocracy, a merchant class and a laboring class. The laboring class was involved in both productive activity geared to market expansion and activity related to satisfying subsistence needs. At certain historical moments when the economy was flourishing, this laboring class resembled an agricultural proletariat more than it did a classical peasantry. In times of economic turmoil, peasant production predominated as Azorean households began to produce for their own self-preservation. This pattern between proletariat and peasant strategies of production has been repeated a number of times over the centuries (Harder 1989).

These were the classes that were represented in the Azores for the first four hundred years of the islands' history. While women, as members of all class levels cannot be singled out as isolated victims of class oppression on the islands during this period, there were social mechanisms that particularly curtailed the mobility of women. For example, of all the *donatarios* for the islands only one was a woman--D. Joanna Tomasia da Camara, 5th Countessa of Ribeira Grande (1757-1766) on the island of São Miguel. Thus while some women held elevated status as members of the upper class, they were prevented from holding office by royal protocol which reserved official, public positions for men.

There were also constraints on women's participation in commerce. As late as the nineteenth century there were laws that curtailed women's activity in merchant enterprise (Lima 1981). For example, women were not permitted to independently set up commercial stalls as this activity was

restricted to men. The women who were active in commerce in the nineteenth century were not Portuguese, but members of the American consular and merchant family, the Dabneys (see Chapter 8).

While women's opportunities for social elevation on the islands were limited, outmigration to the Americas offered alternate economic and social opportunities for members of both sexes. The Azores were tied into the burgeoning world economy and the islands experienced numerous local economic crises because of a heavy reliance on monocropping. When crops declined on the islands, Azoreans migrated first to Brazil, and beginning in the late eighteenth century, to North America (Harder 1989).

The Azores have a long history of labor migration, and there are strong correlates between economic crisis and outmigration from the islands. In terms of an international division of labor, the majority of Azoreans belong to a laboring class of proletarians who move from one productive sphere to another as the world economy expands and contracts. Azorean labor migration is not a temporary phenomenon and couples migrate with their children or even their entire household as an intact unit, often for long periods of time. As a unit and independently, migrant men and women sell their labor to a capitalist class.

While resident on the islands, Azoreans' lives revolved around the home and activity in the private sphere. In North America migrants were drawn into the public sphere through their work in factories (Lamphere 1987). Today, many return migrant women in the Azores speak nostalgically of their experience working in the factories. Particularly, they recount how this type of work allowed them to earn a steady paycheck as well as socialize with other women. Consequently, islanders do not see the potential introduction of a factory system in the recently established Azorean Free

Trade Zone as a negative phenomenon. Rather, they view it as an opportunity for employment. For migrant women, wage labor was the primary mechanism that allowed them to enter the public sphere. Until the 1974 revolution, public sector work on the islands was limited, and most who were in search of a steady income migrated to the United States and Canada. However since the revolution, policy changes and European integration have contributed to the increased incorporation of women into public sphere activity.

Many Azorean migrants return to the Azores, and some have invested their savings in land and small businesses on the islands. In terms of property and their relationship to essential resources necessary for survival, differences exist between Azoreans who have migrated and those who have not. However, the distinctions between these two groups are more accurately measured in terms of quantitative rather than qualitative differences. Some Azoreans who migrate and return home start a small commercial enterprise and may employ a number of Azorean workers. In this case there is a specific relation between employer and employee that can be described in terms of class. Return migrants who turn their savings into capital in this way exploit their fellow Azoreans' labor and extract surplus value. But these types of relationships are few and highly specific, and do not describe the majority of the population. Most return migrants go back to the islands not to invest in business, but to retire. Due to their years of diligent saving while engaged in wage work in North America, most retire on their home island with a comfortable lifestyle that includes many modern amenities. Some flaunt their new economic position and build large, ornate houses and drive expensive cars. But most of the older return migrants modernize their old homes in a modest way, and settle into a daily pattern similar to elderly

nonmigrants as they cultivate subsistence crops and raise one or two cows for milk or beef, for home consumption and/or sale.

Among Azorean peasant households that have not migrated, there is some differentiation in terms of level of living. However unlike in other regions of the world, such as Latin America, these differences are created primarily by factors other than access to land. The large landholders that currently exist in the Azores are concentrated mostly on the island of São Miguel and to a lesser extent, on Terceira. In contrast, Pico and Faial are characterized by small, family-owned landholdings. On Pico, Faial, and most of the other islands, there is no significant class of rural landless laborers. Land for subsistence cultivation or small scale cattle production is readily available even to those who have not inherited sufficient land for their needs. The history of outmigration from the islands has relieved the population pressure that would normally result in a shortage of land. Migrants allow family members to utilize their land in their absence, land can be rented from individuals for a nominal fee, and each island has state-owned land where Azoreans can communally graze their animals. Prior to the 1974 revolution that toppled the almost five decades of dictatorship under António Oliveira Salazar, most peasant households shared a similar experience of poverty and struggle for survival.

In the 1950s, and particularly following a volcanic eruption on Faial in 1957-58, many Azoreans chose to migrate to the United States and Canada. Those who remained on the islands have benefited in a number of ways from their relatives' relocation. Besides having the use of migrants' land as has already been mentioned, remittances in the form of cash, clothing, airplane tickets for visits to North America, and other items have been important contributions to the peasant household income. Since the fall of the

dictatorship in 1974, social and economic reforms have had varying effects on Azorean society. On one hand, an extensive system of family and old age subsidies and pensions provides a minimal, but steady, infusion of cash into every household, and socialized healthcare ensures that all Azoreans receive at least basic medical attention when needed. On the other hand, as more Azoreans are drawn into wage labor, households are increasingly coming to encompass what Deere (1979) refers to as multiple class relations. Proletarians and peasants reside in the same household, and one individual may embody both class relations due to activities performed at different times of the day. Participation in wage labor on a wide scale is a recent phenomenon and the class differences developing among rural households depend on household composition and a household's stage in the developmental cycle with regard to whether male and female members of the household are prepared to engage in wage labor.

On a larger level, the Portuguese state and Catholic Church have historically promoted certain class interests in the Azores. Over the centuries, merchants and foreign interests have been allowed to freely operate economically on the islands. The state has supported these interventions through modifications in policy that facilitate the incorporation of larger numbers of Azoreans as capital expands to the islands. In times of this expansion, women, both ideologically and economically, have been encouraged to participate in the public sphere of productive activity. The current post-revolutionary period is one such time of expansion.

The Azores Islands Today

The total population of the Azorean archipelago is today slightly over 250,000 people, which represents a significant decrease from the 1950

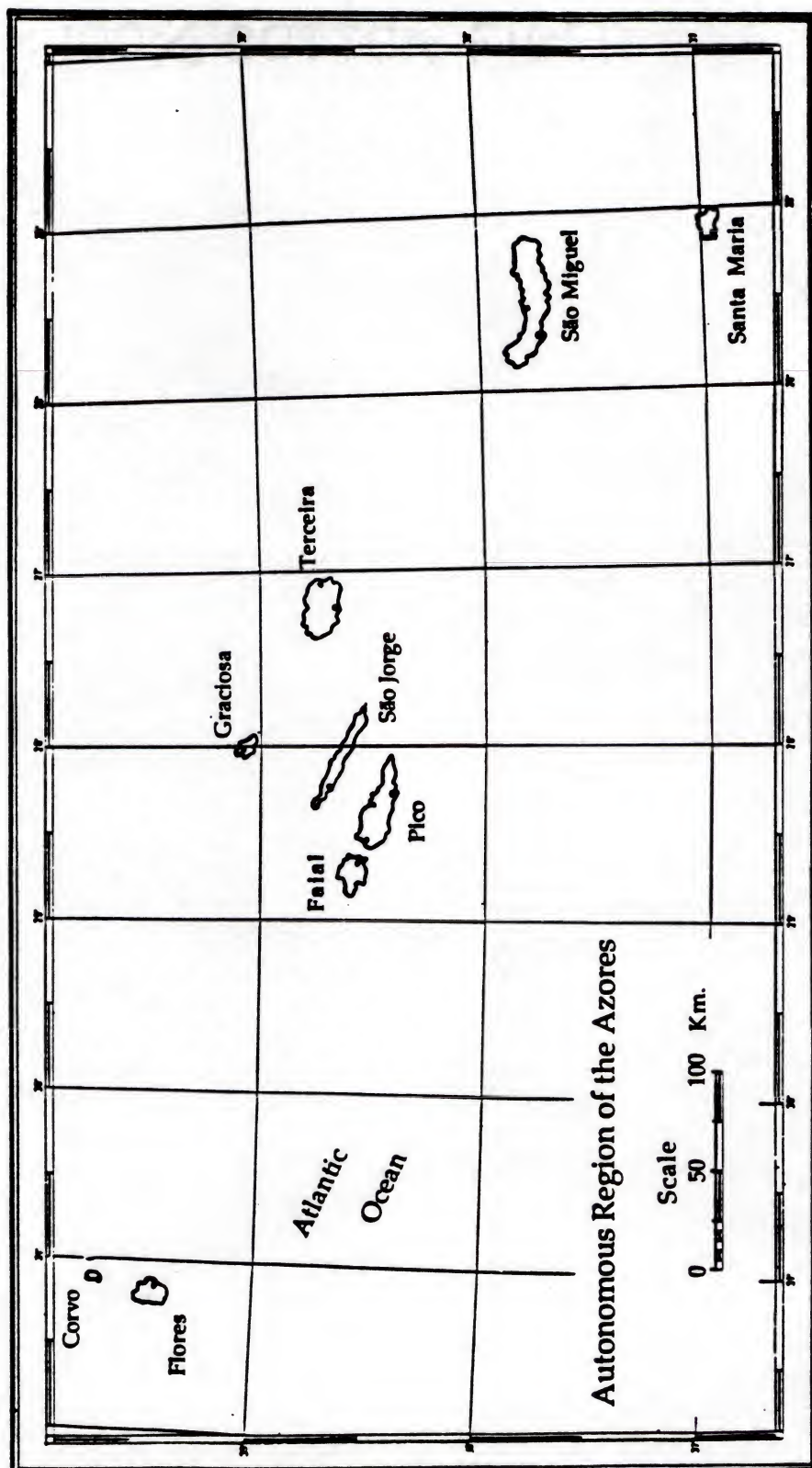


Figure 2.1

The Azores Islands

Source: Adapted from DREPA 1984c

population of 450,000. The nine islands are clustered into an eastern, a central and a western group (see Figure 2.1). Pico and Faial, neighboring islands in the central group, are the principal sites of the research for this study. They are separated from each other by a channel just six miles wide, but the violent waters of the channel make people think carefully before making the crossing. Despite this natural chasm that exists between Pico and Faial, the two islands share many common features. Both islands have the same population of about 15,000 people, and both have suffered considerable depopulation in the last three decades due to outmigration to the United States and Canada.

The Azores are of volcanic origin, and evidence of their violent birth surround the visitor to Pico or Faial. Colors on the two islands seem to be ordered in contrasting pairs of black and white, black and green and black and blue. The deep black of the volcanic stone walls that line the roads is juxtaposed against whitewashed houses and the white sheets that are hung out to dry. Black stone walls are set in the midst of lush pastures, and soft green mosses or thick vines emerge from between the volcanic rocks. The black sand at the sea bottom surrounding the islands darkens the ocean and creates a stark contrast with the blue sky on a clear day. In August, the blue blossoms of the hydrangea bushes line the walls along the roads of Faial. And ubiquitous throughout the islands is a sight common to Iberia and the Mediterranean: elderly widows garbed in black from their headscarves to their shoes and stockings, quickly making their way past the white village walls.

On Pico, the 7,053 foot high volcanic mountain of the same name dominates the center of the island. Significant volcanic eruptions and other seismic events frequent the historical record of the Azores. For example the

emergence, disappearance and reemergence of a submarine volcano off of Faial disturbed the lives of villagers from 1957 to 1958, but took no victims. As recently as 1980 an earthquake destroyed much of Angra do Heroísmo, the principal city on Terceira. Nevertheless, islanders do not manifest a daily preoccupation with disaster. Residents of Faial and Pico yearly commemorate a near disaster from an early eighteenth century eruption of the Pico volcano (see Chapter 6), but on other days the mountain is used simply to gage the weather. The volcano is situated directly across from Horta, the city on Faial, but it is often completely invisible due to the frequently foggy weather. In the winter, snow sometimes covers the top section of the cone, and when this happens those within eyesight on the neighboring islands of Faial and São Jorge know that the days will be getting colder. It is likely that the temperature has dipped only into the high 40s Fahrenheit, but it feels much colder due to the high humidity. At other times the top of the mountain is hidden in a perfect ring of clouds that Azoreans call a *chapeu* (a hat). While the *chapeu* has minimal effect on many parts of Pico itself, it signifies bad weather for the residents of Faial and São Jorge. The great peak creates weather patterns for the islands around it, and a *chapeu* means that Pico's neighbors are in for heavy winds and rainstorms. This type of weather is characteristic of Azorean winters which in January feature winds of high velocity and considerable rain.

Although the temperatures are not very low, island residents feel the damp chill down to their bones as the houses are not equipped with open fireplaces or other heating mechanisms. The rain lasts for days on end, during which time each island is shrouded in clouds and fog and thus obscured from the others. Electric lines often collapse and power outages are frequent. Airports shut down, ships stay in port, and the delivery of mail,

food, and other consumer goods to the islands is delayed. Static on the few telephone lines is deafening if the connection can be kept at all. And women's housework becomes a game of challenge with these winter elements, as rain and wind snuff the bread oven fires and toss freshly laundered clothing and linen from the clothes lines to the ground. Clothing may take up to a week to dry thoroughly. Dirt from the surrounding fields settles into the house with each gust of wind, and keeping ahead of the *pó*, the dust, is frequently cited as the most annoying aspect of housework. Rain is common also in the spring and summer months, so sun and mild weather are thus not taken for granted in the Azores. When two village women meet on the street on a sunny day their greeting to each other often reflects their particular perspective on the good weather: "*Faz sol hoje* (It's sunny today)," one will say. "*É bem para secar* (It's good for drying)," the other is likely to respond.

Villages in the Azores are nucleated settlements that ring the perimeter of the islands and dot the interior where topography allows. Villages, *aldeias*, are located within parishes, *freguesias*. Each *freguesia* has a parish council (*junta da freguesia*), which has its headquarters in the *casa do povo* (house of the people). The system of *casas do povo* was instituted as an administrative mechanism of control during Salazar's regime. Now the *casas* are still administrative units, dispensing peasants' old age pensions and conducting other state business. However they also usually function as community centers.

Each island in the archipelago has at least one fairly densely settled population area. On Faial there is one such principal settlement, Horta, which has the status of city. On Pico three major towns are situated almost equidistant from each other around the perimeter of the large island.

Although every island does not have a settlement officially labeled as a city, in this study when I refer to "the islands' cities," I am indicating these disproportionately large population centers as distinguished from the small rural villages.

On Faial, the more densely populated villages are located near Horta and these characteristically have two-story houses built lining the narrow streets, one connected to the other. The doors of the houses remain closed during the day to keep out the dust of the street. These villages, like the smaller or more sparsely populated ones, have a quiet, almost deserted quality about them.

On Pico, as in the majority of villages scattered throughout Faial, the houses are built individually and are separated by small plots of land dedicated to cultivation or pasture. These too are silent villages, for Azoreans spend little time in the streets. The houses are typically built with one side along the road, usually with the kitchen at the distant end. The water tank, water collection platform and stone or concrete scrub basin are located in the front near the kitchen porch, which is the site of much of the women's household activities. A wall of rock edges the property along the road, and the side orientation of the house affords the women some measure of privacy in their work. It is not that the occasional passersby cannot see over the wall, for the rocks are piled only waist high. Nor do passing neighbors take care to avert their eyes--more often than not they will stop at the gate for a moment's conversation. The low wall serves as a symbolic barrier, behind which the business of the private sphere of the household takes place. The wall

highlights the distinction between family--a *gente*¹--and outsiders. Rarely do the latter enter within.

Most Azoreans refer to themselves as *fechado*, closed natured, reserved or insular people, but Faial and Pico manifest different degrees of this trait. On Faial, the more developed of the two islands, most doors remain closed. During a walk through a Faial village one will not often encounter anyone, except occasionally an elderly man tending his cows in a pasture adjoining his house. On Pico, also, the streets are often empty, but in the good weather the doors are thrown open. On Pico, with an older population, fewer villagers engaging in wage labor, and local, extended families more dissipated by outmigration, there is more interaction between nonkin neighbors than on Faial. Often the open doorway is covered by brightly colored plastic strips that hide the activity within, but the sounds and smells of the interior of the house float out to the street. Women, making their way home from the bus or some errand or chore, will stop for a moment at a gate at the roadside, and using the formal address "*A Senhora!*" they will call to get the attention of their friend or relative in the house. The woman who is summoned comes to the doorway, not always stepping outside onto the porch. If the interior of the house is warm, especially if she has been baking bread, going outside means taking the risk of catching a chill, a *friosinho*. And people are respectful of one another's spatial privacy. If the weather permits, they tend not to enter another's domain. This social attitude in itself reinforces the idea of a closed society. While Azoreans cooperate to celebrate religious festivals

¹ A *gente* literally means "the people", and is used in place of the words "we" or "us." In Azorean usage a *gente* is almost always used to refer to members of the household or extended family.

such as the *Espírito Santo*, researches have observed that these islanders rarely cooperate in large economic endeavors (Pollnac and Carmo 1982).

Rural Azoreans and Peasant Society

There has been much debate in the social science literature concerning the social and political orientation of peasant society. Through his work in Tzintzuntzan, Mexico, George Foster (1965; 1967) characterized the peasant psycho-social makeup as conservative, unmotivated and fatalistic. Foster's perspective based peasant social prerogatives on what he referred to as an image of limited good--a world view that restricts peasants' efforts and capabilities in their interaction with the external world. Social relations in peasant society revolve around suspicion, competition rather than cooperation, and a preoccupation with personal and family honor. In a similar vein, Banfield (1958:10) described peasant social behavior as "amoral familism," where villagers are unable to "act together for their common good or, indeed, for any end transcending the immediate, material interest of the nuclear family." Essential to Banfield's formulation is the absence of the extended family institution in the Italian community where he studied. Both the constructs of image of limited good and amoral familism stress the maximization of short term gains at the expense of, and to the exclusion of, more secure, long term commitments.

While many scholars have observed the characteristics that appear in Foster's descriptions of peasant society--in particular the inward orientation of villagers--they differ from Foster in their analysis. Popkin (1979), for example, claims that the peasant aversion to cooperative interaction arises from motivations of individual self-interest. Others, such as Wolf (1969) and Scott (1976; 1985), find that an historical consideration of the social and

economic linkages within the community, and between the community and the broader society, reveals a myriad of alternative explanations for peasant conservatism and inward orientation. For example, ceremonial systems that operate as leveling mechanisms can be seen in Foster's terms as an invidious means to ensure that no individual household gets ahead. Or, in Wolf's (1966) view, ceremonial expenditures can represent an integral part of the web of social relations that bind the community together in an enduring and mutually beneficial way.

There is substantial agreement among scholars that a peasant inward orientation exists, and that this breaks down when peasant society is undermined by market forces (Migdal 1974). However, the causes of this pattern are at issue. Scott challenges the doctrinaire Marxist position derived from Althusser that holds that peasants are kept in a state of mystification, and thus do not have potential as a revolutionary force. Scott argues that the inward orientation of the peasantry is a response to structural class hierarchies, and peasants use cultural factors to effectively reduce their own exploitation. Where Wolf (1969) focuses on coordinated, large-scale peasant rebellion, Scott is interested in the more commonly occurring resistance activities that people engage in during the course of ordinary daily life. Scott refers to these acts as "*everyday* forms of peasant resistance--the prosaic but constant struggle between the peasantry and those who seek to extract labor, food, taxes, rents, and interest from them" (Scott 1985: 29).

In the Azores, villagers readily describe themselves as *fechado* (closed-natured), and few ties of cooperation or reciprocity currently exist between non-kin households. Reciprocal ties do remain strong among members of multi-generational households and kin in adjacent houses. However, even these relations are undergoing a transformation as Azorean households

become increasingly integrated into the capitalist system through participation in wage labor. A synchronic analysis might tempt the researcher to find strong elements of amoral familism in Azorean rural society. Pollnac and Carmo (1982) examined fishermen on the Azores Island of São Miguel from this perspective, and concluded that fishermen could not form cooperatives because they did not want to work with each other. However, the behavior of rural villagers must be placed within its historical, social, political and economic context. As will become evident through my discussion in subsequent chapters, social relations have not remained static in Azorean villages. Levels and means of communal cooperation between women, in particular, and between Azorean villagers, in general, have undergone changes in response to broader political and economic forces. One illustrative example, which is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7, is that of the *matança do porco*, the pig slaughter. In response to the severe rural poverty that accompanied the inward orientation of Salazar's economic policies, Azorean villagers formed extended cooperative groups for the rotating slaughter of pigs. These groups were arranged on a proximity basis, and whole streets of non-kin households were tied together in this way despite Salazar's prohibition of such communal involvement. Since the revolution, restrictions governing community behavior have been removed, but such non-kin cooperation has virtually disappeared from Azorean villages. Modern utilities such as electricity and freezers for storage, as well as the relatively greater prosperity enjoyed by many households, have obviated the practical need for, and in some ways militated against, the continuation of such communal non-kin arrangements.

Rural Azoreans can best be described as participating in peasant production. In the past as well as today they are producers for both

subsistence consumption and for the market, although some of the products have been specific to particular historical periods (see Chapters 7 and 8). On the Azores Islands, the state has always been a strong mediating force in the regulation of productive activity. State intervention in peasant life has established a situation where the state acts as a patron for the villagers in terms of such activities as monopolizing the purchase of produce, arranging for its distribution, and encouraging migration (see Harder 1989). Because the state has been such an active agent in peasants' lives, the types of horizontal social relations that are found in many other peasant societies are not found to a great extent in the Azores. This situation follows the pattern of other societies where a larger entity maintains direct control over most aspects of the peasants' existence. This is illustrated by Wolf (1955), for the example of Latin America, where the institution of *haciendas* resulted in the creation of a vast system of asymmetrical relations. Peasants in Latin America under feudal tenure cultivated asymmetrical ties with a patron, and minimized horizontal relationships among unrelated peers. In an economic sense, Azorean peasants' inward orientation of *fechado* has many historical counterparts.

A factor that reinforces the inward orientation of Azorean society in another context is the condition under which Azorean migrant men and women have participated in the process of capitalist production. In this century, migrants to the United States and Canada have predominantly worked in the factory system, and there has been little chance of upward mobility in the migrant communities. Azoreans have been known to maintain a strong "return ideology," and many invest little of permanence in the migrant community since they plan to return to the islands to retire in comfort. Another significant element is that migration policies--both in

Portugal and in North America--have emphasized the family as the migration network. Together, these conditions ultimately reinforce the continued importance of the family unit as opposed to the creation of either horizontal or vertical, non-kin ties. Within Azorean society in general, both for migrants and for islanders, there has been a strong maintenance of ethnic identity. As Wolf (1982) asserts, when a particular population is excluded from full and equal participation in capitalist production, ethnic identity and the maintenance of an inward-looking world view are intensified.

Economic Development

The Azores Islands are currently in a new phase of economic expansion that was initiated by the post-revolutionary governments and catalyzed by Portugal's 1986 entry into the European Economic Community (EEC). The state has been introducing social, educational and economic reforms that are geared toward the wider incorporation of both women and men into the labor force. Faial is one of the three islands in the archipelago, along with São Miguel and Terceira, that are designated as district capitals. As such, Faial is the seat of many central or branch offices of the regional government. Thus, Faial is the recipient of a significant amount of EEC monies which generates considerable employment in the governmental bureaucracy. Faial is less industrially developed than either Terceira or São Miguel, and most employment is found in the tertiary sector. São Miguel is the largest, most populated island, and is the site of most of the commercial agriculture and factories that exist on the islands. Terceira also contains several textile factories that employ women, but a large amount of employment is generated from the United States and Azorean airforce bases on the island. In general, the Azores Islands are not currently highly

industrially developed. However, the planned establishment of export processing industries in the Free Trade Zone initially established on the small island of Santa Maria near São Miguel is aimed at boosting Azorean industry. The first factories will be constructed on Santa Maria, but plans call for more to follow on most of the other islands (see Chapter 9).

As a district capital, Faial has historically been more developed than Pico which must rely upon Faial for most of its goods and services. Faial has a deep, sheltered port. Pico does not have a good port, and imports (which amount to virtually everything that is sold in the stores on Pico) must be transshipped from Faial. Faial has a market, although it is small. Pico has no market at all, and only a few private grocery stores. Women who are resellers of Pico's produce travel to Faial daily. Residents of Pico must acquire anything beyond their most basic needs on Faial. To process complex government papers and documents, receive pre-natal care or give birth, send handicapped children to special education, have a variety of consumer goods from which to choose, or pick up a crate sent by relatives from New Bedford, Pico residents must travel to Faial. Before the revolution, the disparity between the two islands was less, and there was little reason for people to travel between them with any frequency. One elderly Pico woman says that she never left her island and did not visit Faial until well after she was married and had children. This was typical for her generation.

While participation in wage labor has greatly increased on the islands since the revolution, a limited amount of wage labor was available on the islands before. On Pico there is still little wage labor available beyond a dairy factory and two fish processing plants where many of the older women worked for brief periods in the past. A whale processing factory, which employed mostly men, closed down about a decade ago. There are a small

number of stores and offices on the island, but most young Picoense who seek "white collar" wage employment must relocate permanently (or at least during the work week) to Faial. The Saturday afternoon ferry from Faial to Pico is crowded with young men in business suits, as is the Monday morning ferry back. It is unusual for a single woman (and almost impossible for a married woman) from Pico to commute weekly to work on Faial. But the younger generation, in its search for wage work, is becoming more mobile within the island archipelago than were the preceding generations, and young women from Pico with the proper education can live with their kin already resident on Faial.

Due to outmigration, the changeover from cash cropping to the less labor intensive small-scale cattle production, and the expansion of wage labor employment, the rate of participation in the primary sector on both Pico and Faial has dropped steadily, and particularly since the 1974 revolution. Primary sector activity still remains greater on Pico than on Faial, and on Faial it is the tertiary sector that is most developed. On Faial, most households with residents under age 45 now have at least one wage laborer in addition to maintaining subsistence plots of land and a few cows. At first, following the revolution, predominantly men were employed in Horta, but in the last decade young women have begun to work outside the home also. This trend toward the incorporation of women has been facilitated by the fact that many of the tertiary sector jobs in stores, the tourist industry, the health field, and government offices are considered "suited" to women in that they entail an extension of reproductive type labor: caring for and catering to other people's needs. In addition, the planned establishment of export processing factories on the islands is likely to employ predominantly women.

Methods

The Research Locations

I carried out the fieldwork for this dissertation, along with my research partner and companion, Ron Harder¹ during the fifteen month period between January 1987 and April 1988. We lived in the central island group of the Azorean archipelago, first in the village of Praia das Pedras on Faial, and then in the village of Santarosa on the neighboring island of Pico. We made numerous ferry trips between the two islands throughout the research period. Residence for periods on both islands was useful for the research as it provided a wide breath of experience and information about Azorean women's lives. As I discussed in the preceding sections, Faial is the more developed of the two islands, and receives more economic input from the regional and central governments as well as the European Economic Community. Pico, although modernizing, retains much of the attributes of the peasant society that characterized Faial before the 1974 revolution. While a complete study of the entire archipelago was beyond the scope of this study, an examination of the patterns of interaction between the two islands afforded insight into the working of an island system that is characterized by an uneven distribution of institutional facilities and services.

Fieldwork away from "home" has been an anthropological tradition for almost a century. By now, most students arrive in their research location equipped with previously published monographs and socioeconomic data for the region. Students who follow their professors into the field additionally benefit from their professors' verbal accounts and impressions of the society

¹ Ronald Harder (1989) wrote his doctoral dissertation concerning the historical dimensions of migration from the Azores.

under study, and the students are often provided with letters of introduction to villagers and officials. Some of the letters, no doubt, are addressed to people with whom the professor has fictive kin relations.

Study on the Azores Islands presented us with a different situation, as the Azores are a region that has received limited attention by anthropologists. Our work, then, is reminiscent in some ways of the early anthropology, when the ethnographic record for the region under study was not yet set. For this reason, portions of this dissertation are devoted to ethnographic description, since the ethnographic information upon which I base my analysis has not been written elsewhere.

Introduction into the Community and Data Collection

Our entrance into the community was facilitated, not by a professor's letter of introduction, but by a letter from Ron Harder's Azorean sister-in-law's father in Canada. His family migrated to Canada from Praia das Pedras thirty years ago. We arrived in Praia das Pedras as a couple, and we were both accepted as distant relatives by their extended family in the village. This was fortunate for us, because the people of this family welcomed us and provided us with the initial links in our continually expanding social network. In Azorean society, some type of formalized connection to the community is crucial in the beginning, because there are no daily or weekly occasions that Spradley (1980) would call "free-entry social situations" where outsiders can make acquaintances informally. Neither men nor women spend any more time in the streets than they need to in going about their work. The village squares are usually empty, people do not take walks or gather on corners, and with the modernization of houses, housework has become increasingly privatized. For example, these days virtually all houses have a private

rainwater tank if not internal plumbing, so no one needs to utilize a village well or nearby river for collecting water or washing laundry. In addition, it is not the norm for non-relatives to visit in other people's houses. Thus, had we not had a family connection, I would have had difficulty finding people to talk to until I became well-known in the area.

My main source of information comes from the daily informal interviews and participant observation that I conducted on Faial and Pico while living in villages on those islands. Before we arrived in Faial, I had a general plan of study laid out; I had written a research proposal. But as we knew relatively little specific information about the islands, I was planning on modifying my research and methods as I came to better understand the social environment. Bromley and Shupe (1980:191) write that "in many participant observation situations the initial formulation of the research problem constitutes merely the beginning of an interactive process between researcher and data." It was essential, then, to maintain at all times a sense of context for the material that I was collecting. Through state agencies, I had access to government quantitative data. What I needed was the historical and contemporary social context that would illuminate the meaning of this data.

Williams (1967:64) ends his *Field Methods in the Study of Culture* with the comment, "It may be useful to conclude by considering the question of whether it is really possible to formalize, or present systematically, the detail of method for the study of culture." Williams was writing generally, but the same question can be made for the methods of a particular study that heavily utilizes qualitative data. Qualitative data can be gathered systematically, as in directed interviews and structured observations, but it is also an ongoing process that does not stop at the conclusion of an interview or event. Spradley (1980:33) outlines the method of participant observation as an

experience of narrowing: upon first exposure the types of data that are gathered are of a general nature, broad "descriptions." Gradually, as the observer becomes more informed, the recorded observations become "focused," and then "selective." But general descriptions are continually made throughout the research period as new situations are encountered. The important factor in doing participant observation is the ongoing analysis. Spradley (1980) makes the distinction between a regular participant, and the participant observer. The latter maintains an "explicit awareness" of his or her own actions, and the actions of others within their specific context. It is the analytical role of participant observers that keep them continually involved in observation and reformulation of concepts and issues. I recorded my observations in notebooks, repeatedly going over these pages for the emergence of themes and patterns. Periodically throughout the fieldwork period, to see where I was heading and to work out my ideas theoretically, I wrote thematic essays on different aspects of my research.

The degree of active, on-site involvement during participant observation can be placed on a continuum. Total uninvolvement is nonparticipation, moving up the scale to passive, moderate, active and complete participation (Spradley 1980:58). For this study I primarily utilized the three levels in the middle range, depending upon the circumstances, but even nonparticipation yielded rich information. For example, if I was at a festival, I passively watched the procession from the sidelines, noting who was involved in what roles, where different status people stood in relation to the events, what people were wearing, and so on. For certain activities that take place in the home, I was able to participate on a moderate level. For example, when I was talking with women while they were doing their domestic tasks such as hanging laundry on the line or breaking firewood for

the bread oven, I assisted them whenever I could. However, Azoreans are not amenable to having anyone help them with their normal, daily tasks, and it was difficult to participate in this manner. There was another reason that my attempts to participate in their work were rebuked. I did not arrive on the islands alone, and it was thus not appropriate for me to live with a local family.¹ As residents in a separate house, we constituted our own household, and the village women naturally assumed that I had my own share of domestic labor to perform. Except in the preparation for a festive event, or among women of a household group, women of different households do not collaborate in household work.

Active participation, then, was only possible when there was an institutionalized mechanism for involving others in their work. The *matança do porco* was the best Azorean event for active participation. I was able to join in all aspects of the *matança* weekend ranging from normal domestic activities that I would at other times have been forbidden to help with, such as sweeping the house and the *loja*, to more unusual activities particular to the *matança*, like cleaning the pig's intestines. These were excellent times to gather data, not only about the activities of the moment, but about all manner of unrelated subjects as well. The *matança* tasks are time-consuming, communal activities, and these women, who do not have

¹ Migrants commonly loan out their vacant houses to relatives, although they rarely rent them to outsiders. Following this generous pattern, Ron Harder's sister-in-law's father felt it was appropriate for us to live in the house he had left on Faial. On Pico, the house we lived in had been vacated by an elderly woman who had gone to live with one of her daughters on Faial in order to be nearer Faial's relatively extensive medical facilities. The invitation to use the house on Pico came through the woman's granddaughter who had married into our initial contact family. As we expanded our network, we received many invitations to use vacant houses, but our initial acceptance by a local family was clearly an important factor leading to such offers.

many occasions to talk to each other in a group, keep up continual conversation throughout their work.

Another form of participant observation occurred in the normal course of our living in the villages on Faial and Pico. Through our experiences living under similar conditions to many Azorean villagers, we were able to figure out more quickly some of the issues that we wanted to explore with people. We lived in the unheated stone houses (on Pico without indoor plumbing or running water) and tried to stay warm; I washed the laundry with well water on the porch in front of the kitchen, and tried to get the clothes to stay on the line long enough to dry in the winters; we learned how difficult it is to maintain some kind of nutritional standard without engaging in subsistence production; and like most Azoreans, we walked or took the buses and an occasional taxi as our means of traveling around the islands. In this way, also, we came to know many people well in the normal contexts of their own days.

During our stay on Pico, we had to make numerous short trips back to Faial. In the absence of widespread installation of private telephones, and with a high rate of illiteracy for older Azoreans, communication between family members where some are resident on Pico, and some on Faial, is not as constant as the people would like. Our frequent travel between Pico and Faial was not typical of the residents of Santarosa. So residents began to use us as couriers, sometimes of goods, but most often of verbal information. We came to know the intricacies of family life split between two islands in a way that we would likely not have pursued had we not been given the role of communication intermediaries. People in Santarosa liked to keep track of our comings and goings, and I learned that a towel or a few clothes drying on my line on Pico was a signal to the village that we had just returned, or that

we were still there. A woman passing, then, would stop at my gate and call out to me to see if I was in the house. The women would never come into the house, and when I came out to the gate I was always told that they saw my towel on the line, and just stopped to tell me some piece of news.

Everyone I interviewed was informed as to why I had come to the islands, but I did my best to come to understand the totality of Azorean life, and the cycle of the days and the weeks, without becoming a nuisance to the villagers or creating too much of an artificial structure around my encounters. Home visits between neighbors are rare, and even extended family members only gather on Sunday afternoons or evenings. But people seemed to bend that norm for my sake. I needed, for my research, to visit people in their homes, and they allowed me to and many even welcomed me.

I conducted formal interviews with people who were particularly knowledgeable about specific subjects of my research. But for the most part I utilized a method of building, piece by piece, the information that has led to the writing of this dissertation. Life histories, also, were garnered in this way. I pieced the women's life histories together a bit at a time, as they were willing to tell it, when they were willing to tell it--when the information seemed relevant to them in the context of the conversation or their activities at the moment. While I had less control this way over the information that I was given, this method was enormously satisfying in the end in terms of the quantity and breadth, both in subject and detail, of information that I received. I feel that it was partly because I did my interviewing in this manner that I was admitted to so many Azorean homes, time and again.

Azorean women have little "free" time during the day, as most domestic tasks are still done manually and are very time consuming. So in

the attempt to avoid becoming a nuisance and a distraction, I kept my visits short, but made them fairly frequent. I scheduled my visits at diverse times of the day, but reserved intensive interviewing for the late afternoons when the women were relatively free to talk. At other times I was a presence in their homes--while they were baking bread, negotiating something with a neighbor, cooking lunch. Before visiting a particular woman I reviewed my notes to remember exactly what she had told me before, and I frequently started off my conversations from these points. In this way I heard more than one version or example of a particular subject, and could begin to make judgements about the accuracy and completeness of what people were telling me.

I chose the method of repeated, shorter length interviews rather than longer, one-time interviews because it was more convenient for the people I visited, it allowed for reflection between periods of information collection, and because it worked well in the structure of my lengthy fieldwork schedule. My aim was to develop a familiarity and trust relationship with the people in the villages in order to avoid, as much as possible, the pitfall of collecting false or "modified" data. In the evenings I expanded my fieldnotes and recorded the day's data on separate notebook pages according to subject. These were periodically reorganized into subject-coded loose leaf notebooks.

While the research was an ongoing process due to my residence in the villages, I repeatedly visited with and held multiple directed, informal interviews with 42 specific women. Repetitive visits under differing circumstances allowed me to discuss a wide range of subjects, both with women alone, and with their family members.

Since most rural Azoreans continue to do subsistence agriculture even if some household members engage in other economic activities, including

wage labor, it is at times difficult to categorize a household as pertaining to a particular class. But there are clear differences in most aspects of life between women who work for wages and women who do not, as well as women in households where one or more males work for wages and women in traditional peasant households. There are also differences between households that have become ideologically oriented toward a wage income in order to raise the household's level of reproduction, and households whose members occasionally engaged in wage labor in the past in order to survive. In the effort to understand the social changes for women that accompany the increasing proletarianization of both men and women in the Azores, my data was collected from elderly peasant women; middle-aged women of peasant background with husbands engaged in wage work; middle-aged women who do wage labor and whose husbands do also; young women out of high school who do wage labor or who are looking for wage jobs; and younger girls who vary in their plans for the future. I included both nonmigrants and return migrants.

Visual materials were important aids in my research. Few Azoreans on the islands have cameras, but most migrants do. An important part of any trip back to the Azores, or visit to relatives in North America, is visual documentation. Also, for many decades Azoreans have been accustomed to having professional photographers take pictures of important family events such as weddings and First Communions. People seemed to enjoy bringing me through a narrated tour of their life via their boxes of photographs. Since they have few visitors, they get little opportunity to show off the pictures. The photos frequently catalyzed talk about subjects that I would not necessarily have thought of asking about. And there was time depth to everyone's photo box, so I was able to get a visual glimpse into life in the

Azores during the Salazar regime. The municipal libraries also have old photo collections and published photo albums that were useful sources of ethnographic data. And by showing my own slides to Azorean migrants in Canada after I left the Azores, I was able to elicit information regarding the migration process and the concerns that they would have if considering a return migration to the islands.

Due to our length of residence on Faial and Pico, most of the data gained by participant observation was gathered on those two islands. We were also able to visit four of the other islands, each for short periods of time: Terceira and Graciosa, also in the central group, and São Miguel and Santa Maria in the eastern group. The islands in the western group are extremely difficult to travel to because of the uncertainty of the weather surrounding the Azores, and we did not visit those. This dissertation, then, concerns Faial and Pico on a specific level, however I make generalizations about the Azores that I discern from archival material and the governmental statistical data.

Our main purposes in making the trips to the other islands was to gain a familiarity with the differences and similarities among the islands, and to utilize the libraries, archives and resources of the government offices in the islands' principal towns or cities. Important sources of information on the economic and social history of the Azores were found in the old documents and archival materials located in the municipal libraries. I made extensive use of these materials in the Horta (Faial), Angra do Heroísmo (Terceira) and Ponta Delgada (São Miguel) libraries. The central branch of the University of the Azores is located in Ponta Delgada. There I met with local scholars and did research in the university's specialized collection pertaining to the European Economic Community. In addition, two short trips were made to the continent for the specific purpose of renewing our visas. While we were

there, I consulted the collections on the Azores and Portugal in general at the Gulbenkian Foundation in Lisbon, the University in Aveiro, and the University in Porto.

Since the 1974 revolution when the Azorean archipelago was made an Autonomous Region with its own regional government, comprehensive statistical data has been gathered several times each year in all the villages of the islands, and is compiled in government publications that are produced periodically. The reports put out by DREPA, the Regional Department of Planning Studies of the Azores, and SREA, the Regional Secretary of Statistics of the Azores were particularly useful for this study, and most of the statistical data employed was gained from these sources. The object of this research was to uncover patterns of change in the position of Azorean women, historically, rather than to do specific community studies. Therefore, I chose not to do formal surveys in the villages where I lived. I felt that given the wealth of statistical data already available for the region, the intrusion that a house to house census would create on villagers' lives was not warranted. We began to have access to the government data early on in the research, and I used that information to help orient and inform my collection of qualitative data.

We made three visits to the island of Terceira where many of the regional government centers are located, and I held repeated interviews with the planners who work for both DREPA and SREA. I also interviewed the American Consul in Ponta Delgada, and a representative of the Canadian Consulate in Angra do Heroísmo about Azorean migration and return patterns to and from those countries.

On Faial and Pico I interviewed people who worked or were otherwise knowledgeable in the subjects that I was researching. For my chapter on education I did interviews with students, school teachers and administrators

of the public school system and the Continuing Education Program. I attended many of the Continuing Education classes, including repeated visits over the course of a school term to one particular class. To understand the influence of the Catholic religion on women's position in Azorean society, I interviewed clergy, catechism teachers and women in religious volunteer organizations. To obtain information from professionals about household dynamics and women's incorporation into the wage labor force, I conducted interviews with local nurses, social workers, employers, and officials in government offices dealing with labor, social security, and tourism development. For information concerning the availability of new housing and housing loans and how this affects young couples' decisions about marriage and residence, I consulted the DREPA planning offices.

CHAPTER 3

WOMEN AND THE INSTITUTIONS OF FORMAL SOCIALIZATION: THE CHURCH AND EDUCATION

Introduction

Socialization of a country's young people takes place in a variety of environments, but two of the most important are in the family and in the school. The former institution is associated with what is generally called informal socialization, and the latter provides a mechanism for formal socialization (Schwartz 1975). A third institution, the Church, becomes equally as important for formal socialization in countries that are characterized by a single dominant religion that enjoys the support of the state. Throughout a large portion of Portugal's history, the Catholic Church and the state have consolidated their strength in their rule over the country. A history of education in Portugal, then, cannot be separated from an analysis of the role of the Catholic Church. Historically, priests have been in charge of educating Portuguese youth and the education process has had a strong religious component. The Church, though, has done more than supply instructors for Portuguese schools, as Church policy has during certain historical periods strongly influenced national doctrine. As in almost all countries where the Catholic Church plays a predominant role in social life, the position of women is undermined when the patriarchal tenets of the church enter the political arena and the education process. The Catholic

Church in Portugal has contributed to the perpetuation of an ideology of patriarchy that has kept women in a subordinated position. In this chapter I examine how the Church and the state have acted, at varying times in collusion or in conflict, to define both the public and private roles of women in Azorean society.

The history of education on the Azores Islands is more than a history of a state institution. As Friedman Hansen (1979:35) argues,

The way in which knowledge transmission is organized in a society expresses its cultural values. The sectors of knowledge selected for systematic transmission, the status of learners and instructors, the goals and methods of instruction, and restrictions on access to bodies of knowledge all reflect fundamental beliefs and values of those who control and generally those who are served by educational institutions.

An examination of Portuguese educational history, then, offers a unique perspective on Azorean social history. For the first four centuries after settlement of the Azores, women were virtually excluded from the formal institutions of schooling. This is not to say that women were ignored by the policymakers. Rather, Azorean women's roles in society in each historical period become clearer through an examination of the changing ideological position over time regarding the social, economic and legal status of women. These attitudes were frequently manifested in the state's and Church's restriction or extension of women's access to formal education.

It is commonplace to assume that schools are mechanisms of formal socialization of children into the norms and values of society (Goslin 1965). But when the norms and values of the state do not coincide with those of the general populace, the school system can be used in a significantly more insidious way--as a means of indoctrination and in the strengthening of social

control. It was during the Salazarian dictatorship that the schools were overtly organized for such purposes. The ideology of the state and the Church in the *Estado Novo* placed women in a distinctly subordinated position in society. Simultaneously, women were manipulated into the teaching profession to contribute to the success of the propagandist educational institution. In contrast, the successive post-revolutionary governments (since 1974) have been attempting to institute educational reforms that are aimed at establishing greater equality of opportunity for Portuguese women. A historical perspective is therefore necessary to establish the background against which the post-revolutionary governments have been basing their policy changes.

At times in the following discussion it will seem that the topic of women is lost as the Church's role in the education process becomes the major theme of focus. While the dominant ideologies of the state and the Church are not reflected directly in household gender and generational relations, it is important to establish what these institutional forces are that have prevented women's greater public participation and which have attempted to define the private and public roles by which women live. I begin with a discussion of the influential role of the Church in education from the first settling of the islands in the fifteenth century.

The Franciscan, Graciano and Jesuit Orders

Formal education was initially provided exclusively for males in the Azores in the fifteenth century by the Franciscan and Jesuit Catholic orders. Since that time, the Catholic Church has been an important influence on the role, character and content of Portuguese schooling. The monks of the Franciscan order were the first of several religious orders to provide

education on the Azores Islands. Following the settlement of the islands in 1443, Franciscans spread throughout the archipelago, teaching Latin and Portuguese grammar to the islands' male children. Education became associated with the male domain, and girls were excluded from study on the Azores for four centuries.

The Franciscan monopoly on education was broken in the second half of the sixteenth century with the arrival of both the monks of Saint Augustine, known as the "Gracianos," and the Society of Jesus (Jesuits). The Gracianos gave instruction in the arts and theology, subjects which complemented the teaching of the Franciscans. The Jesuits had been invited to the Azores by King Sebastian (1554-1578), and they competed with the Franciscans for students of grammar, Latin, rhetoric, philosophy and theology. Of the two new orders, the Jesuits were the more prominent. The Jesuits established three colleges on the islands and these schools were restricted to the male children of wealthy elites. The Franciscans continued to maintain schools in every town in the archipelago. Even though attendance in these schools bridged class boundaries and the Franciscans educated male children of all social backgrounds, girls were still not instructed. The contrast between the approaches of the two religious orders is described in the following passage from the Azorean Archives:

The company of Jesus, whose Azorean seat was in Faial, also lectured the children. They taught in a more correct manner [than did the Franciscans], but to fewer individuals. The influence that the learned public gave to these two orders created rivalries and bad feeling between the [Jesuit] College and the [Franciscan] Convent. The Franciscans taught the talented and the rough without discrimination, while conversely, the Jesuits did not offer their vast science except to the boys who showed recognizable aptitude. (ADA VIII, 1982:307-308)

The Jesuits, as they taught the rich and influential, created an organizational network throughout Portugal that gave them great political and economic power. The Jesuits' position was protected by special laws, and their pedagogical orientation gave them virtual control over education in Portugal until the mid-eighteenth century. They used this control effectively to promote Church policy and instill the notion of patriarchy in the Azorean male student. As women were absent from this specialized and formalized instruction that initiated Azorean youth into the public sphere of education and religion, their role in societal life was largely defined in terms of the private sphere.

The Marquis de Pombal, Prime Minister of Portugal from 1750 to 1777, instituted educational reforms that advocated the teaching of modern philosophy and science. The Jesuits strongly opposed Pombal's educational reforms which would have raised Portuguese scholarship close to the level found in other European countries, and would have considerably weakened the Jesuit monopoly over advanced education. To diffuse the power of the Jesuits, Pombal used his influence with the Holy See and had the Jesuits expelled from Portugal in 1759, as well as from France, Spain and Naples in the following years (Marques 1976). This left a major gap in the country's basic and higher education and Pombal placed the former Jesuit colleges under the auspices of the state. Using the Jesuits' confiscated properties, Pombal extended his policies beyond the university to include a public primary school system. Under Pombal's program, fifteen primary schools were established on the Azores and Madeira. The primary schools continued to be run by religious orders, primarily the Franciscans, but higher education became more secularized. Education was still at that time almost exclusively the privilege of males.

Pombal's attempt at providing basic public education throughout all of Portugal was a failure. His progressive ideas about education were never accepted because "there was a fear that widespread public elementary education would propagate heretic and revolutionary ideas" (Alves 1985:61). Pombal lost all influence after the death of King Joseph in 1777, and elementary education for the general populace was completely abolished. Education at all levels became once again the domain of the elite. The pattern in Portuguese education from the time of the discoveries until the nineteenth century was one where the representatives of the state continually debated about who should be entitled to formal educational instruction. Women, however, were rarely considered.

Nineteenth Century

Convent Life

By 1821 there were 873 primary schools throughout Portugal, and only 44 of these instructed girls. On the Azores during this period, the convent was the principal institution that offered girls educational opportunities. In 1832, two convents in Horta housed 201 women (Rebello 1886). But while convents opened up education for females, the circumstances under which they entered the convents were not in other ways liberating. The Azorean archives contain many accounts of girls who were virtually incarcerated by their fathers in the convents in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This was especially common among the wealthier families, where the daughters and even the younger sons were put in convents and monestaries so the eldest son could inherit the property undivided. Ironically, these reluctant mendicants were almost the only girls to receive educational instruction in the Azores.

The majority of girls . . . were forbidden the desire to read. For the female sex, the forbidden fruit of instruction was limited, with rare exception, to the young girls who, willingly or not, had entered the religious monasteries. (ADA VIII, 1982:308)

The convent education was not instituted to prepare girls for social participation in the public sphere, but was intended to teach them the ways of the Church so that they could properly carry out their duties as future nuns properly. Azorean girls who entered the convents had essentially two options: accept their position and take the vows to become a nun; or find a way to leave the convent. Many of the young women put off taking their vows, in the hope of finding a way out of the convent. On one hand, convent life kept the girls secluded from normal social interchange. But the convent women had to contribute to their own support, and the convents became specialized in the preparation of baked goods, marmalades and candies. At times these goods were distributed to individual buyers from the towns through a revolving window in the convent door that impeded direct interaction between the buyer and the novitiate; at other times the sales were conducted less discreetly. In Horta, a public recreation area was located near the convent wall, and the convent girls were known to lower baskets of sweets down to the boys, who placed "letters of appreciation" in the baskets in return. Through these and other fleeting interchanges in the streets, many of the girls managed to leave convent life by arranging an attachment of some kind to a man. The girls had to literally escape the convent by climbing out the high windows, hiding in bundles of firewood, or dressing as workmen. And then they were forced to leave the islands, which was usually facilitated by arranging the escape when an English ship was in port (Drummond 1981;

Lima 1981; Rebello 1886). In general, Azorean convents were full of girls who had been coerced to profess to a life of seclusion. If they could not find a way to escape, they voiced their discontent in other ways.

The liberalizing influences of the French Revolution (1789-94) made their way to the Azores as foreign ships that stopped at the island of Faial brought these new ideas to the islands and distributed propaganda brochures to the populace. The Franciscans condemned these liberal ideals from the pulpit because the clergy recognized these ideas as a threat to their established power and position. Some of the most prominent dissenters of the official church position were nuns who had been involuntarily admitted to a life of seclusion (ADA VIII, 1982:309).

While the Portuguese elites had already begun to benefit from the period of European Enlightenment, it was not until much later that liberalizing influences began to "trickle down" to the common people. The creation of the charter for the first constitutional monarchy in 1822 promised dramatic, widespread social and educational reforms, but this progressive move was quashed within one year. The intervening years between 1823 and 1834 were filled with repression and persecution of those who had supported liberalism, particularly the teachers. The convents, which on the Azores were also loci of social protest, were closed by King Pedro IV in 1834.

The Republican Era¹

After the *Setembrismo* revolution of 1836, public education was once again extended (ideally) throughout the country, but the absolutists still

¹The influence of the Republican era began, roughly, in mid-nineteenth century although the Republic was not officialized until the murder of King Carlos in 1908, and subsequently, the 1910 revolution that brought the Republicans into power.

retained considerable influence in the country. Despite the continual efforts of the liberals to discredit and diffuse the power of the university, Coimbra remained throughout the nineteenth century a bastion of absolutist tradition. Meanwhile, the republican movement in Portugal was growing. The republican party in Portugal espoused a platform that embraced the liberal ideas that were becoming popular throughout Europe at that time. The party championed equal rights for men and women, free education, and the abolition of child labor.

The republican era was a time when freedoms and intellectualism flourished in Portugal for those with the social and economic means to participate. On the Azores creative artists, literary societies, literary competitions, and locally published periodicals thrived during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Following the establishment of the first newspaper in January 1857, the opening of newspapers almost became faddish. On the island of Faial alone, 54 weeklies were established in the three decades (ADA IX, 1982:38-57; Rebello 1982a:317-376; Rebello 1982b:19-37).¹

Republicanism was an anti-clerical political ideology in that it promoted the secularization of Portuguese society. The republicans wanted to cut the close ties that existed between the Church and the state. In 1873, the Central Federal Republican Committee of Portugal presented the official republican policy that included as primary issues support for equality of the sexes; elimination of governmental restrictions on the marriage contract; labor laws for the protection of women and children; direct elections; and the

¹ In contrast, currently on Faial two 4-6 page newspapers are published daily, one by a Church-oriented group, and one by a private firm. To make up for the years lost during the literary silence under the dictatorship, the Azorean regional government is encouraging and funding local scholars for research and publication of historical and ethnographic writings. Many of these are listed in the bibliography.

rights of all (including women) to freedom of speech, to work, to receive credit, and hold property (Patter 1957).

Widespread public education was integral to a republican agenda, and basic to the republican ideal of equality of the sexes, was education for both sexes. This was a move away from the monarchist ideology of a woman's worth being evaluated by the extent of her moral virtues, and it was a serious attempt to challenge an attitude that denied females education. But the republican notion of the woman's position in society was not entirely new. It was, in effect, an extension of a long-developing idea that identified women with nature, and thus their nurturing role in the family (Ortner 1974).

Richard Sennett (1977:95) writes that

"The state of nature" is, in political philosophy, an idea with roots going back to the Middle Ages. The growing perception of this vulnerability of the child produced in the early 18th Century a more concrete, experiential idea of what a state of nature consisted of....The order of nature was thus in the Enlightenment a morally charged scheme; nature was allied with the discovery of, the need for, and the right to, nurture.

The eighteenth century association of the family with the locus of nurturance stemmed from a notion of human dignity and each person's "right to be valued, to be loved" (Sennett 1975:95). Both parents were to participate directly in the care and upbringing of the child. However, where men's roles entailed exerting discipline and authority, women's roles were more extensive and binding. Women were responsible for their children's physical and emotional well-being, as well as childhood socialization and preparation for adult life. The difference between the republicans and their political predecessors was that republicans felt that women should be formally educated in order to adequately perform their expanded reproductive

function. Writings that continued to describe the women's role from a religious perspective (Lopez Praça 1872; Moreira Bello 1885) were still being published, but articles warning society about the need for educated women were becoming more common during the late nineteenth century. However, many of these publications that called for women's education still justified the reforms in terms of women's maternal role. An essay entitled "Two Words about the Instruction of the Woman," published in the 1873 issue of the Azorean *Almanak Fayalense* maintains:

The woman, who does not have love for study, is like a child, who through her extreme weakness needs assistance. Marry to protect herself, says the proverb: But, I say, how will she be able to protect her children? . . . It is a great error not to instruct the woman.

School serves for much, but school without the lessons explained at home serves for nothing. And who if not the mother will explain? Notwithstanding the advantages that result for the family and for society if the woman is instructed, men, with their unpardonable pride aspire to be everything themselves, refusing the help that the sex called the weak one could offer if her education was complete. (Vieira Caldas 1873:xxx)

Another Azorean writer of the late nineteenth century maintained that women were not permitted to develop to their fullest potential because of society's fear that educated women would eventually dominate men. Thus, a dozen schools were established for males to every one for females, and women were generally refused access to higher education or involvement in business (Rebello 1875).

In actuality, republican liberalism and intellectualism got its impetus in a fabricated notion of equality and individual rights. The highly stratified republican class structure produced many of Portugal's greatest thinkers, yet the level of literacy and learning for the country's impoverished majority,

both male and female, was dismal. The high degree of illiteracy embarrassed the country's educated elite, who in reaction, conceived educational aims ever more broadly. Primary school curricula were extensive and comprehensive--what Salazar's education minister later disparagingly referred to as "encyclopedic." But ideology had no basis in reality, and results remained highly restricted. At the close of the republican era, 70% of the population still could not read or write (Monica 1979). Bell's assessment five years into the creation of the Republic was unfortunately accurate:

The Republic was ushered in with pompous phrases concerning education. In a few years there were to be no more illiterates....But there has been danger of more attention being given to the show than to the substance of reform, and of education becoming more and more a whited sepulchre. (cited in Taft 1923:81)

The republican policies were illusionary in that the ideas were introduced without a full consideration of how they could be practically implemented. A secondary school was established in each of the three districts of the Azores in the mid 1800s, and basic education was made compulsory in Portugal in 1878. However, the education law was unenforceable, especially in the Azores, because there were few resources for teachers, books, or school furniture. An anonymous historian wrote of Faial in 1886:

We do not know the number of schools for primary instruction that have been created during this period [1839-1886] for both sexes, but owing to the government or the parish councils, the manner in which the schools are established is a true pity, in houses, with rare exceptions, without any hygienic conditions, with furniture of the most humble expression, and the professors, although some are sufficiently qualified, are very badly paid and making miracles of economy to maintain a decent life.

The Faialense people, in the rural parishes as in the city, are, in the great majority, illiterate. (ADA VIII, 1982:315-316)

Despite the republican effort to overcome the influence of the Church, the latter was still at this time a major force in the education of rural Azoreans. In 1890, for instance, it was the Catholic Church rather than the state that financed the construction and supplies for a primary school on the island of Graciosa (Cordeiro Dias Pereira 1986). But the state was responsible for the minimal advanced education that was available on the Azores. Two technical schools and a school for maritime pilots (presumably restricted to male enrollment), and several "normal" schools for teacher training were established on the Azores Islands in the last decade of the nineteenth century.

The contradiction of the republican era was that ideologically there was a commitment to greater freedom for women but in reality the position of women did not change a great deal during this time. In analyzing the position of women for this period one has to be careful not to interpret the republican doctrines of liberation as actually representing changes in women's status. The ideology offered freedom but prevailing social conditions prevented the realization of this freedom. Table 3.1 lists the number of women in the University of Coimbra from 1891 to 1987.¹ Although there is a gradual increase in the number of women enrolled after the republicans officially took power in 1910, university education remained largely a male domain throughout the republican years. The first female enrolled in the University of Coimbra in 1891. And from that year to the

¹ I use data from the University of Coimbra because Coimbra was the sole university in Portugal until the republicans took power in 1910. Since that time numerous other universities have been created, but Coimbra remains the most prestigious. The University of the Azores was only established after the revolution in 1976. I discuss the specifics of women's participation in higher education in recent years in later sections.

official declaration of the republic in 1910, there were only 23 female students. The number of female students increased more than ten-fold for the 16 official years of the Republic, and the percentage has increased ever since so that women currently make up more than half the student population at Coimbra, Portugal's oldest and most prestigious university.

Table 3.1
Women Enrolled in the University of Coimbra

| Years | Number of Women | Percentage of Total Students |
|-----------|-----------------|------------------------------|
| 1891-1892 | 1 | n.a. |
| 1891-1910 | 23 | n.a. |
| 1910-1926 | 280 | n.a. |
| 1940-1950 | n.a. | n.a. |
| 1950-1960 | 13,664 | 33 |
| 1960-1970 | 31,218 | 44 |
| 1970-1980 | 46,019 | 46 |
| 1980-1987 | 44,755 | 52 |

Source: Gomes 1987

Laurinda Andrade: A Case of a Liberated Woman

Greater social freedoms did not present themselves to the average Azorean woman either during the republican era. Laurinda Andrade, in her autobiographical book *The Open Door* (1968), outlines the conditions for women in the Azores during the height of the republican era. Andrade's life history is a good example of the dilemma that existed for women who wanted to take advantage of the new freedoms yet came into conflict with the existing social norms. Born in 1900 on the island of Terceira, Andrade describes herself as having been an unusual girl for her time, instinctively rebelling against the role that had been laid out for her since early childhood. She

desperately wanted an education, and was more interested in becoming a teacher than a wife and mother. While her father did not forbid her outright to attend school, her education was continually disrupted due to the family's impoverished circumstances and the need for her labor at home and in her father's small store.

In 1917 Andrade had the opportunity to migrate to the United States, and against her parents' wishes, she went. Her father felt that the family needed her in Terceira, and he continually pressed for her return to the Azores. Andrade refused to follow her father's wishes, and finally he disowned her. Although it was unusual for young, single Azorean women to migrate alone (Lamphere 1987), Andrade found other girls like herself in Massachusetts. The migrant women lived in a boarding house, and they all worked in the cotton mills for a wage of between six and ten dollars a week.

A large community of Portuguese fishermen was forming in San Diego and single Azorean women migrated to California to find husbands. Unlike many of her female companions in the eastern mills, Andrade had no interest in moving west to find a husband. Her principal interest in going to the United States was to be able to pursue her education, and against the advice of her friends in Massachusetts, she enrolled in a local high school. Andrade went on to receive a teaching certificate from a local college, and eventually founded the first Portuguese language department in a North American high school. Despite the repeated unorthodoxy of her actions, Andrade remained a devout Catholic all her life. She just could not live by the restrictions that the traditions of her homeland placed on her. Later, in reflection, she considered an explanation for her father's inability to accept her decisions: "Money and the ego of masculine supremacy resulting from

his own background probably dominated all his reasoning" (Andrade 1968:38).

The case of Laurinda Andrade illustrates that state legislation is a necessary, but not nearly sufficient condition for lessening women's subordination within the family. Urban women in continental Portugal may possibly have benefitted from republican liberal reforms. But for a young, rural Azorean woman to realize the republican era goals of education and equality, she had to leave republican Portugal. Ideology and economics were important factors in Andrade's decision to leave her family and her homeland. Andrade's unusual goals subjected her to social ostracism. And equally as important, because of her position in her Terceira household as a daughter in the family economy,¹ her father could not spare her immediate labor in order for her to complete her education and become a teacher. Prolonged education for all was a lofty goal of the republican elites, but it was not realized.

Salazar and the *Estado Novo*

Portugal's republican era ended with a military coup in May of 1926. António Oliveira Salazar, then a young professor of economics at Coimbra, was installed as Minister of Finance.² In 1928, Salazar's most immediate problem was to rectify the trade deficit, but reform of Portugal's system of education was also a top priority. Some of Salazar's earliest decrees began the

¹ Tilly and Scott (1978) offer a clear analysis of the concessions required of household members in the family economy, or domestic mode of production. I elaborate on these points in Chapter 8.

² Salazar wanted total control, and when after five days it became apparent that he would have to answer to others, he left the post to resume his academic career and be near his dying mother. In 1928, Salazar once again took up the finance position, this time on his own terms (Kay 1970). He held that post until his promotion to Prime Minister in 1932, where he remained until 1968. See Appendix D for a personality profile of the dictator.

process of wiping out all traces of the republican era's liberal influence on education. Salazar's first speech declared, "I know very well what I want, and where I am going" (cited in Monica 1978:86). He applied the same fervor to the task of bringing the Portuguese educational system under his complete direction and control.

Salazar blamed republican liberalism for Portugal's educational inefficiency and failure, as well as for the chaos in the economy and society as a whole (Egerton 1943; Kay 1970; Patter 1957). In Salazar's *Estado Novo* there were to be no republican-style social apologists: social hierarchy, ascribed status and economic inequalities were immutable givens. Salazar believed that individual inequalities of ability, including the differences between men and women, were natural. Consequently, he did not view education as a right of all Portuguese citizens (Teixeira 1938).

Again, in evaluating Salazar's ideological position it is important to recognize the distance between ideology and actual policy. As Table 3.1 indicates, the presence of women in the university increased dramatically during the Salazar years. In contrast to earlier periods in Portuguese history, during the Salazar era females actually underwent formal schooling, although the principal objective was to indoctrinate them in accordance with Salazar's perspective of society. The content and context of public schooling, then, was more than just a system of knowledge transferral (Friedman Hansen 1975). Salazar's attitudes about class and gender hierarchies, which permeated political legislation throughout the *Estado Novo*, were effectively transmitted to the Azorean village children, and indirectly their parents, by the public educational system.

Patriarchy as a Political Policy of Social Control in the *Estado Novo*

On an ideological level, Salazar perceived education as a male domain. But literacy and the acquisition of knowledge were not as important as moral training and appropriate social behavior. Under Salazar's regime, the school system, as a government, corporatist institution, became a tool for social control, a means of state socialization. Patriarchy, on both the level of the state and in the family, was a principal theme.

The patriarchal pattern of power relations is a way of offering security based on the fear of enemies, known or unknown, and nurtured by dependence. It is based on the moral, political and economic power of the man over the woman and child. The relations between the state and the population reproduces the same pattern. . . . Economic subsistence is the main goal of these structures and the validation mechanism to reinforce the father and State patriarchal functions. (Emediato 1983:38)

While the republicans viewed illiteracy as an obstacle to development, for Salazar's paternalistic, patriarchal, authoritarian regime, massive illiteracy was advantageous to the state. During the *Estado Novo*, the highest values were obedience and moral virtue--values that ideally would be instilled in the home, but would become intensified and solidified at school. The family was to be the "Chief Educator," with the state taking over only when the family was incapable of performing this function (Derrick 1938). Teachers, like parents, were encouraged to forcefully punish children to obtain the desired results. A well-known play on words went, "*Quem da o pao, da o pão*" (Monica 1979:273). Literally the saying means, "The one who gives the stick, gives the bread."

A patriarchal model was the basis for social policy under the *Estado Novo*, and the image of patriarchy was mirrored in the hierarchy of

subsystems within Portuguese society. Children were expected to show unquestioning obedience and subordination toward their parents. Children's relations with their parents were to be emulated in the relations between children and their teachers. Women were to act submissively toward their husbands. And, workers were to accept their subordinate position beneath the owners of the means of production, which in turn reflected exactly the ideal relations between all Portuguese adults and the state. These relationships were reinforced at school, and students were required to memorize long lists of quotations from government-approved textbooks. Monica (1979:283) provides some examples from a fourth grade reader:

- 1) In the family, the head is the father; in the school, the head is the teacher; in the state, the head is the government.
- 2) To govern is not to enslave: it is to direct. The easier obedience comes, the softer is the rule.
- 3) If you understood what it costs to rule, you would want to be more obedient all your life.
- 4) Your country is the most beautiful of all countries: she deserves all your sacrifices.

Salazar frequently emphasized the idea of personal sacrifice for the common good. He held his own example of having sacrificed a life in academia to become Minister of Finance as a parallel to the personal sacrifices he expected of the Portuguese people (Kay 1970).

Sacrifice and Social Behavior: the Catholic Church as a Societal Model

The policies of Salazar's corporativist regime were legitimized by the Church, particularly through the writings of Pope Leo XIII and Pope Pius XI (Riegelhaupt 1967). Salazar found a natural political ally in the Catholic Church, and one of his most intimate advisors was a long-time friend from his Coimbra years, Cardinal Cerejeira. In a speech given two years before the

coup that overthrew the monarchy, Salazar had declared, "Christianity does not need to command but to serve. It preaches obedience as opposed to the spirit of revolt...sacrifice as opposed to ambition. These are the moral foundations of our social revolution" (cited in Teixeira 1938:51). When Salazar took power in 1928 he officially reinstated the influential position the Catholic Church had held before the republican period, and he depended upon Church teachings for social control. But Salazar was clear that the interests of the Church would not direct his government. In an interview for the publication *Novidades* in April of 1928, Salazar warned:

Tell the Catholics that the sacrifice I have made [in taking office] gives me the right to expect that they of all Portuguese, will be the first to make the sacrifices I may ask of them, and the last to ask for favours which I cannot grant. (cited in Kay 1970:43)

The Position of Women in the *Estado Novo*

The teachings of Saint Paul provided a model of social life for the design of the *Estado Novo*, particularly with regard to socialization and domestic social relations.

Women, take a submissive position to your husbands, as is fitting according to the Lord. Husbands, love your wives and do not treat them adversely. Children, obey your parents in every way, because this pleases the Lord. . . . Serve and obey in every way your land lords, not only serving them, physically, like those who seek to oblige men, but with sincerity of the heart, reverent of God.
(from the Epistle of Saint Paul, cited in Monica 1979:131)

Thus, under Salazar, women were unconditionally stripped of the expanded role and the corresponding rights and freedoms that had been accorded them, at least ideally, during the republican era. There was no longer any pretense that the woman's role extended beyond the domestic sphere. And since

schooling was conceived in increasingly narrow terms, it was no longer considered necessary for women to be capable of helping their children with their schoolwork. Popular writing, as before the republican period, once again extolled the importance of female morality and spirituality for the proper upbringing of children. Throughout the years of the *Estado Novo*, writings such as those of Sister Maria Daniel used a biological justification to emphasize this point:

The woman is perfectly conditioned for her vocation of motherhood and because of this is destined to generate, spiritually, the world of tomorrow....Every one of the sexes, through its physical, psychological, social and religious diversity has its own function to perform in the Church. The religious influence profoundly exercised through the qualities of the female heart are so essential in the 'expansion of the King as the logical spirit and the daring will of the conquest of man.' (Sister Maria Daniel 1964:240)

The Reorganization of the Structure and Content of Schooling

Education versus instruction

Physical reorganization and change in the ideological orientation of the educational system was accomplished under Salazar rapidly. Salazar redefined the word "education" during his dictatorship, and he created a formal distinction between "education" and "instruction." Education referred to teaching concerned with the formation of religious and moral character. "Instruction," the lesser in importance of the two, was intellectual training. To this day, Azoreans refer to the good manners and behavior of others, regardless of their level of schooling, as "*boa educação*," and rough or rude people are labeled as "*mão educado*." To Salazar, it was important to develop discipline in the schools, especially at the primary level. An institution designed for the official indoctrination of the traditional values of

"God, Country and Family" had to be scrupulous in the example it set. Once in power, Salazar was able to act on his earlier observations about the condition of education in Portugal.¹

Feminization of the teaching staff

Salazar's most significant act in changing the ideological orientation of primary school teaching was the replacement of most of the teaching staff. Salazar placed young, rural women in the schools throughout Portugal. In 1911, a year after the official establishment of the republic, only 54% of the teaching staff was female. Salazar later closed the *Magisterios*² (teaching schools) in 1936. When he reopened them four years later, 87% of the teachers were female, and 90% were of rural origin. The schools in Salazar's *Estado Novo* were to be a disciplinary extension of the ideal home. In the rural regions and in the Azores this would be a home where the father was away all day in the fields, and the mother was in the house. The move to incorporate more women into the teaching force was an expressed attempt to place the schoolroom in a parallel position to the home--with a woman in charge during the daylight hours.

Although rural women were often not well educated, they were sufficiently prepared to teach in Salazar's schools since their primary charge was to mold the children into moral and obedient citizens. Prior to Salazar's regime, teaching had been men's work. With the feminization of the teaching profession, Salazar decreased the social and economic status of teachers, and brought the teachers tightly under his control. The teachers

¹ See Appendix D

² The *Magisterios* are the same as the schools for training teachers called Normal Schools in other parts of Europe and Latin America.

were overseen by male administrators who kept close watch on their territories of supervision. Teachers were cognizant of the danger of such actions on their part as making inappropriate political remarks or exhibiting an attitude of undue ambition. These mistakes could be cause for reclassification of the teacher to a lower category, or reassignment to a yet more unappealing post (Monica 1979). In former years, the male teacher in a rural village had often acted as the organizer or spokesperson for the villagers, and was frequently a radical voice in the community. Placing young, rural born, "passive" women in this position eliminated this aspect of the teacher's role. For Salazar, the teacher's most valued qualities were her being female and naive: "Docile, cheap and politically conservative, women had the ideal qualifications to educate the children of the poor" (Monica 1979:209).

The young teachers were in a vulnerable position in their communities. They were extremely underpaid, and often had to depend on the village families for their food. Despite the economic hardship and low status assigned to primary school teachers, there was never a shortage of young women from peasant households willing to take up the profession. During those years, it was the only way for a rural woman to raise her social status (however minimally) and one of the few means to earn an independent income.

Segregation of the sexes in schools

One of Salazar's earliest decrees abolished coeducation of the sexes in order to "reflect the different destiny of girls" (Salgado 1978:12). This was not a major structural change in the Azores, where segregated instruction had

long been in effect, although formal school buildings were not always used.¹ Salazar decreed that in the future, separate school buildings would be constructed for girls and boys, but where there were too few children to warrant this, girls and boys used separate entrances or went to school in shifts. In the Azores, this was the case for most village schools. The long, stone primary schools that were built during Salazar's regime with two entrances are still used today, but girls and boys attend school together.

Obligatory schooling under Salazar

Mandatory schooling under the *Estado Novo* was minimal. Obligatory school years were reduced in 1927 from the former five year period to four years. In 1937, the optional pre-schools were abolished altogether, while the compulsory primary grades were reduced yet again to three years. These were obligatory years of school attendance; successful completion of each grade was encouraged, but not required. The school day was three and a half hours long, and school was in session eight months of the year. This schedule could have accommodated children who were encouraged to learn, as it still left time for children to help their parents with agricultural or domestic work. But absenteeism was high because there was no perceivable benefit to the parents or the children for school attendance. The curriculum emphasized obedience and morality rather than practical knowledge, and just a small

¹ The 1875 *Almanak Fayalense* cites 30 boy's schools and 15 girl's schools in the administrative district of Horta that contained the populous islands of Faial and Pico, as well as the sparsely inhabited islands of Flores and Corvo. This ratio of girl's schools to boy's schools, while grossly unequal, is much better than the ratios cited earlier for the Azores as a whole for the same year (Rebello 1875), and for Portugal in 1821 (ADA VIII). Faial's higher than average ratio of girl's schools and better literacy rate may be due to the influence of the Dabney family of the United States consulate. The Dabneys took a charitable and beneficent interest in Faial, and promoted literacy training on the island (Rogers 1979).

infraction of a rule brought severe punishment upon the child. Religion and repression were the teachers' most widely used classroom aids. The students received no incentive to excel or show intellectual and creative initiative. Memorization of the lessons, which were heavily dosed with religious and moral dogma, was sufficient. Overly inquisitive children were chastised (Monica 1979).

It was widely recognized that although a 1933 law forbade child labor, urban children in continental Portugal who were absent from school could usually be found in the factories, and rural and Azorean children spent their days in the fields or at home doing domestic work. This suited Salazar's conception of the *Estado Novo* perfectly, for as one government commissioner put it: "Child labor is a good school of responsibility," particularly that training obtained while helping the mother (Monica 1979:248). Economic reasons, then, and not parents' obstinate resistance to schooling were the major causes of the high absentee rate in schools during the Salazar regime.

School attendance and literacy

School attendance by both boys and girls remained extremely low through the Salazar years. The 1940 Portuguese census reported that only 36% of boys and 29% of girls went to school. In 1938 the state of the education system had been assessed during a debate in the Portuguese National Assembly. One minister insisted that the scope of instruction be narrowed down yet further. A university professor argued that the content of the schooling was useless to rural peasants and it was to be expected that they keep their children away from school. But the majority of opinions actually echoed that of the republicans: the elitist attitude that it was psychological

deficiencies that prevented peasant parents from sending their children to school (Monica 1979). The debate had little impact on Salazar's policies because social control, not an educated populace, was his priority. A 1950 decree made by Salazar officially justified Portugal's high rate of illiteracy: "Our people, through their rich intuition, through the conditions of their existence, of their activities, do not feel the necessity to know how to read" (Salazar, cited in Salgado 1978:13).

In 1940, illiteracy in the district of Horta¹ was 48.7% for males and 43.2% for females. This was not a bad rate for Portugal: the illiteracy rate of the Horta district was the lowest of the three Azorean island districts, considerably lower than the district of Funchal on Madeira, and even lower than continental Portugal. Despite the fact that literacy in Portugal has been defined at times to mean only the ability to sign one's name, the number of people receiving marriage licenses in 1965 who could be called literate increased substantially from 1940 to 1965 (see Tables 3.2 and 3.3).

Table 3.2

Literacy: Number of Husbands and Wives Literate at Marriage in Three Azores Districts, 1940

| Status | Horta | | Angra | | Ponta Delgada | |
|------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|---------------|-------|
| | Hus./ | Wives | Hus./ | Wives | Hus./ | Wives |
| Literate | 224 | 256 | 240 | 261 | 356 | 428 |
| Illiterate | 80 | 48 | 182 | 161 | 462 | 390 |

Note: The three districts comprise the entire Azores archipelago in the following manner: Horta - Faial, Pico, Corvo, Flores.

Angra - Terceira, Graciosa, São Jorge.

Ponta Delgada - São Miguel, Santa Maria

Source: *Anuário Demográfico*, Imprensa Nacional, 1940

¹ The district of Horta includes both Faial and Pico, as well as two less populated islands, Flores and Corvo.

Table 3.3

Literacy: Number of Marriages with Literate Spouses in Three Azores Districts, 1965

| <u>Status</u> | <u>Horta</u> | <u>Angra</u> | <u>Ponta Delgada</u> |
|---------------|--------------|--------------|----------------------|
| Both literate | 309 | 717 | 1349 |
| Only husband | 3 | 19 | 35 |
| Only wife | 9 | 26 | 104 |
| Neither | 5 | 13 | 41 |

Source: *Anuário Demográfico*, Imprensa Nacional, 1965

Table 3.4

Number of Marriages with Literate Spouses, Azores, 1976

| <u>Status</u> | <u>#Marriages</u> |
|---------------|-------------------|
| Both literate | 2953 |
| Only husband | 9 |
| Only wife | 19 |
| Neither | 10 |

Source: *Estatísticas Demográficas*, Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Serviços Centrais, 1976

In the Azores as a whole, females have had a higher literacy rate than males, even as the overall rate has improved over the years. Of the marriages performed in 1940 in all three Azores districts, there were more cases where the wife was literate than where the husband was literate. The data for 1965 (three years before Salazar stepped down from the Prime Ministry) and for 1976 (two years after the revolution), show a similar pattern.¹

¹ The three tables are presented in slightly different forms due to the differences in availability of detailed information for the three years.

While the three year presence of children in the classroom was integral to Salazar's mechanism of social control, there were no means to ensure that children attended school. The case of Maria¹ of Praia das Pedras on Faial illustrates the condition of schooling in rural Azores. In the 1930s Maria was a young child from a poor peasant family of eight children. Her father was one of the few adults in the village who could read, write and do arithmetic. Her mother was illiterate. Maria's parents insisted that she and all her siblings attend school. In Praia das Pedras at that time, children from the age of seven through twelve were taught in one room.

The young teacher in the school was unusual in that she was married with three small children. Like most teachers, the Praia teacher was an outsider in the village. As an outsider and representative of the repressive state, she would have been associated with what Ribeiro (1981) has described as the "distrusted urban bureaucracy." This particular teacher in Praia was at a worse disadvantage than most teachers because of her responsibility for her young children. She was in Praia without the kin and social networks necessary to provide childcare and other services necessary to ensure her family's health and well-being. The teacher had to bring her children to school with her each day, and a good portion of instruction time was lost to the demands of her children. Frequently the teacher had to stay home with the children if they were sick, and school was cancelled for the day. She was inadequately trained for her job, and the frustration of the conflicting

¹ Most women in the Azores have Maria as their first name, which is followed by one or more of a small variety of other names. A typical name, then, would be Maria Emília, or Maria da Fátima. For purposes of brevity and clarity in the text, in most cases I have formulated my pseudonyms using a single name, only. I occasionally refer to a particular person in more than one example. However, my intention in using case examples is to illustrate broader patterns of behavior and activity, rather than to track specific individuals throughout the length of the dissertation.

demands placed on her because of her dual role as mother and teacher, caused her to have little patience with the students. Maria was able to learn to read under these conditions, but she could not learn to write. The students learned to write by taking dictation, and Maria always fell behind during the exercises. Unable or unwilling to cope with the stress and embarrassment, that followed her dictation failures, Maria simply skipped school on days scheduled for dictation. Maria would leave the house in the morning, ostensibly to go to school, and would spend two to three days a week helping out at her aunt's house or hiding somewhere else in the village. The teacher never questioned her absences. Maria was one of the older siblings, and her parents never found out. "It's a very sad thing, and I feel bitter about it," Maria says now. "I wish I knew how to write. I wanted to learn, but I was a very nervous girl. I couldn't learn under those conditions. Many of the children never learned."

1968-1974: Educational Reform under Caetano

For four decades under Salazar, education in Portugal received a lower priority than social conditioning. Primary schooling emphasized moral development over academic instruction, and higher education was reserved primarily for the elite, although enrollments were gradually increasing. The percentage of women in Coimbra University in the decade of 1960 to 1970 had risen to 44%, 11% higher than the previous decade. During the Salazar regime, university research and publications were censored by the state, and many of Portugal's best scholars took up residence in exile. In 1968 when Salazar became too ill to function, Marcello Caetano took over the dictatorship. Caetano, who had held many positions under Salazar, was closely tied to the *Estado Novo* regime, and continued to rule much in the

manner of his mentor. Repression was little eased, and Portugal remained ostracized in the international arena due to Caetano's steadfast maintenance of Portugal's African colonies.

On the other hand, Caetano wanted Portugal to enter the European Economic Community and become fully integrated with western capitalism. To gain acceptance certain economic and social reforms were essential, particularly the liberalization of the economy. Organizations such as UNESCO and the World Bank emphasized that to facilitate economic modernization it was important to improve and expand education of both sexes. Caetano was thus faced with a contradiction: his colonialist-nationalistic stance was the condition upon which he had ascended to the Prime Ministry, but this position conflicted with the demands of the forces for modernization. Ultimately, Caetano made few concessions toward the liberalization of the political and economic sectors. But he was more progressive in the realm of education, particularly at the university level.

University reform represented a way for the Government to promote...compensatory legitimation, or the attempt to co-opt the modern sectors of intellectuals and win the confidence of the liberal sectors of students, church, army and entrepreneurs in the ability and interest of Government to promote modernization. (Emediato 1983:180)

Caetano appointed Professor Veiga Simão to the post of Minister of Education. Simão created extensive plans to extend and redynamize the educational system from elementary school through higher education and the university. But the plans for educational and other reforms did not quickly materialize. And meanwhile, political opposition continually grew stronger. The closing statement of an April 1973 convention in northern Portugal that was called by the opposition party, and was well attended by

Azorean representatives, sums up the prevailing attitude to the *Estado Novo* regime:

In a country or region, when the people are subjected to a rigid monolithic system, where the values and cultural institutions are made to serve, to control and to reinforce that monolithism, cultural standards deteriorate, weaken and reduce mankind to merely vegetables. (Barbosa, cited in Alves 1985:122)

In April of 1974, Veiga Simão personally visited the Azorean island of Terceira to initiate the establishment of a long-awaited College of Education. This was to be of considerable benefit to the islands, especially to Azorean women who previously had little access to higher education. The Education Minister was greeted enthusiastically by the island's populace, including the Bishop of Angra. Just four days later, on April 25, a coup perpetrated by a group of junior military officers ousted Caetano, bringing almost five decades of dictatorship to an abrupt halt. An immediate goal of those newly in power was to reverse the impact of the fascist regime and to halt all planned projects that were associated with it. With the fall of the dictatorship, then, most of Veiga Simão's plans for educational reform, including Terceira's College of Education, were abolished. Alves (1985:130) writes that many Azoreans felt they had been cheated of the institution of higher education that they had long awaited.

The Post-Revolutionary Period

Plans for Reform

The overthrow of the dictatorship brought into power a series of short-lived communist governments, which by 1976 gave way to a less radical, socialist oriented, constitutional government. Portugal's initial transition from fascism to socialism was impeded by the confusion and disorganization

that resulted from the different policies promoted by the succession of provisional governments. However, throughout the political changes, certain overall policies remained constant. The Church was removed from the influential political position it enjoyed under the dictatorship, and Catholic doctrine no longer *officially* defined appropriate social behavior. Equality of the sexes was declared, and women were to be rapidly incorporated into Portugal's public life of politics, education, and above all, production.

Rui Gracio, Secretary of State for Pedagogic Orientation to the second, third and fourth provisional governments between July 1974 and July 1975, published a series of articles in 1978 that analyzed the original goals that he and other revolutionaries had conceived for social and educational reform. They had hoped to "replace values of fascist and colonialist ideology with those of scientific and cultural modernity, ideological pluralism and democratic inspiration" (Gracio 1981a:106). As Salazar had utilized the schools to propagate values of obedience and morality, the revolutionary governments wanted to restructure the education system so it would function as a venue for the elaboration of their own goals and values. Among some of the immediately proposed reforms were those that affected women directly. Women comprised virtually the entire teaching staff at the lower grade levels, and throughout the dictatorship they had suffered hardship and humiliation in that low paid, little respected post. Consequently, the post-revolutionary governments' plans called for the readjustment of teachers' salaries to provide a reasonable means of subsistence, the restructuring of teacher training, the liberalization of student/teacher relations, the reorganization of grade levels and reconsideration of curricula content, and in general, steps were to be taken to minimize regional, economic and sexual inequalities in access to education.

But because of the political instability following the revolution, eradicating the influences of Salazar's dictatorship and implementing new educational policies has been a difficult and prolonged process (Ambrosio 1985).

Today in the Azores, children's learning experiences in the schools are not significantly different in many important respects from the way they were under Salazar. One problem is that where the post-revolutionary governments have established specific legal changes, subsequent governments have imposed revisions. Another obstacle to progressive change is that new ideas frequently clash with the traditional methods and attitudes of the majority of the teachers since the teachers trained during the *Estado Novo* were retained in their jobs. The older teachers are in continual ideological conflict with the newly trained teachers and government policy-

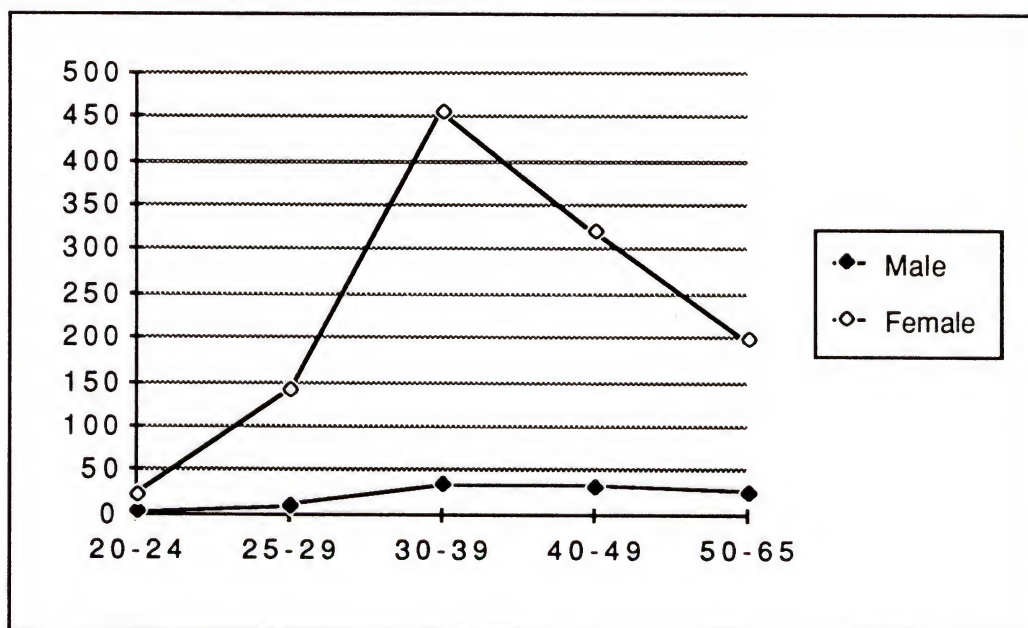


Figure 3.1
Public School Teachers, Azores, by Age and Sex, 1983/1984

Source: *Educação*, SREA, 1980-84

makers about changes being implemented in the education system. This situation is exacerbated in the Azores because 85% of the current primary school teachers began their careers during the *Estado Novo* (see Figure 3.1).

The older teachers have benefitted from post-revolutionary pay raises and improved teaching conditions and resources, but they find themselves in a compromised position. The stated objectives for Portuguese education have been broadened once again to the pre-Salazar "encyclopedic" condition. The transmission of academic knowledge now takes precedence over moral development and behavior. The amount of material that must now be covered in a year is tremendous, but the methods of teaching have changed little. The concept of the *livro unico*, the single state-approved school text for each grade that was required under the *Estado Novo*, has been abandoned in favor of free-choice in school texts. There are now thousands of available texts, and teachers are encouraged to change their texts each year. This presents a problem for poor families. In the past, younger children used their older siblings' or cousins' books, and the local libraries stocked used copies of texts and loaned them to students for the duration of the school term. But in reaction to the old regime's *livro unico*, these money saving strategies are now impossible. In the spring of 1988 a new law was proposed which would have required schools to use the same texts for at least two years in a row. The law did not pass, but it would only have alleviated the problem to a small extent, anyway. Books of all sorts, especially text and academic books, are extremely expensive throughout Portugal, and even more so in the Azores. A subsidy that has discounted the cost of school books in recent years to bring them down to the continental price has just been eliminated by the current, conservative national government. Consequently, a fourth grade paperback language text or a fifth grade social studies workbook costs an

Azorean parent about six dollars, more than half the amount of a minimum daily wage. When the price is multiplied for all the necessary books for more than one child in a family, the costs become staggering.

Teaching Methods

Teaching is still most often accomplished by the didactic delivery of uninterrupted lectures, and students are discouraged from asking questions. Factual material is "told" to the children, but ideas and concepts are not "taught" to them. Older teachers in the Azores accuse the new teachers who are attempting to implement "modern" methods that encourage independent thinking, of being too "soft" on the students because they do not require as much memorization as was expected under the old system. The method of rote learning is becoming more inappropriate than ever as the range of information a student is expected to learn is expanding. Secondary education has been broadened to more students, but the supply of qualified teachers has not kept pace with the need. The rural or isolated regions, such as the Azores, have suffered the most. The start of the 1987 school term was delayed more than a month on Faial due to a lack of teachers. Finally, the term started with young people who had recently completed at least the eleventh grade filling in the vacant positions. Some of the temporary teachers have sufficient education, but not in the appropriate field. One young man from the continent who is trained in archeology but could find no work in his field, accepted the job of teaching history in the preparatory level grades in a school on Faial. He claims that he has difficulty discussing concepts with his students because they have no prior experience with this method of learning. He also said that he feels the animosity of the older teachers toward his unorthodox methods and ideas.

The system is not working for the students, and parents must find a way to make up for the deficiencies of the schools. But since most parents of the children who are now enrolled in preparatory and high schools had only a third or fourth grade education themselves, they cannot tutor the children at home and must hire someone to do it. Now, as during the last years of the *Estado Novo* when education requirements began expanding under Caetano, all children whose families can afford the expense hire the services of an after school *explicadora*, an "explainer." The expense is seen as worthwhile since success in school, especially at the upper levels, is now viewed by many as essential to a child's future economic success. The *explicadora* goes over the material that the students learn in school. Many *explicadoras* have been holding these after-hours classes for decades, originally for the children of wealthy families. They are trained in the old methods and remain officially outside of the school system, although their use has become necessary for increasing numbers of students. Rather than actually explaining the material to make it easier to understand, they usually present the material over again, lecture style. Even in these "explanation" sessions, questions and comments from the students are little tolerated. Private tutoring is expensive, so most students attend large group lessons with an *explicadora* who covers all school subjects in one lesson. Despite the extra help many students receive, success rates are not as good as administrators of Azorean schools would like to achieve (see Tables 3.5 and 3.6).

In the 1986/87 school year, 32% of first grade children failed the year. The highest success rate in primary school was in the third grade with 82% passing. In the preparatory level, the best rate was in sixth grade with 77% passing. In both cases, the more successful grade level coincided with the least populous grade level, possibly reflecting the benefits of a lower

Table 3.5
Percentage of Primary School Students Enrolled in a
Two-year Phase Three or More Times, Azores

| <u>Grade</u> | <u>1984/85</u> | <u>1985/86</u> |
|------------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| Phase I (Grades 1 and 2) | 37.2 | 36.0 |
| Phase II (Grades 3 and 4) | 20.5 | 18.6 |

Source: *Situação Socioeconómica*, DREPA 1986

student/teacher ratio. In the secondary school, from ninth grade through twelfth, all entirely optional, success rates get increasingly lower. Overall failure rates at all levels of schooling have risen considerably since the revolution. Many administrators, themselves former teachers in the Salazar regime, are convinced that this alarming development is due to the "soft" educational policies implemented in the last fourteen years. They blame the newly trained teachers for trying to teach slower and making the material too easy, while at the same time losing control over their classrooms. Physical punishment is illegal, but it is still employed by many of the older teachers who feel that children (especially rural children) can only learn if they are scared into it. A former teacher who is a current administrator of the primary school system maintains that,

The young teachers don't work very hard these days. They don't work the long hours we did, and there is no pressure on them for the children to pass. They say that the way we used to teach caused violence (*fazia violencia*) to the children, and these days that is forbidden. The government is so concerned about reversing the ways of the *Estado Novo*, that they encourage the teachers to be

Table 3.6
Student Success Rate, Azores 1986/87

| Grade | Percentage Passing | Percentage Repeating | Total # Students |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| <u>Primary School</u> | | | |
| 1 | 68.1 | 28.0 | 6632 |
| 2 | 58.0 | 51.0 | 8591 |
| 3 | 82.0 | 13.6 | 5470 |
| 4 | 72.3 | 30.0 | 6285 |
| <u>Preparatory School</u> | | | |
| 5 | 68.9 | 19.0 | 4857 |
| 6 | 77.0 | 12.0 | 3746 |
| <u>Intensive Course</u> | | | |
| | 39.1 | 28.7 | 335 |
| <u>Secondary School</u> | | | |
| 7 | 63.3 | 23.1 | 2964 |
| 8 | 59.0 | 24.5 | 2310 |
| 9 | 68.9 | 20.0 | 1638 |
| 10 | 66.3 | 32.2 | 1663 |
| 11 | 47.5 | 34.4 | 1199 |
| 12 | 30.8 | 30.0 | 915 |
| <u>Night School</u> | | | |
| 7 | 22.0 | 31.9 | 182 |
| 8 | 45.2 | 38.2 | 186 |
| 9 | 46.8 | 51.8 | 218 |
| 10 | 40.0 | 38.4 | 578 |
| 11 | 33.6 | 32.6 | 506 |

Source: *Estatísticas da Educação da Região Açores*, SREA 1986/87

soft on the students. We used to beat the children with rulers so they would be quiet and obedient, now that is forbidden and the classrooms are chaotic. We used to make them memorize all their lessons, now we are told that this too causes violence to the children and should not be required. You see that the children are failing.

Mariano Alves, a professor of education at the University of the Azores explains the increased failure rate differently. He maintains that since now schooling is extended to all, and before the revolution fewer students actually had access to school, the greater numbers and sheer diversity of students allots for the current lower overall success rate. Alves expects to see a gradual improvement.

The primary school administrator quoted above recognizes some important failings of the current educational system, but because of his ideological orientation rooted in the *Estado Novo*, he misrepresents many of their causes. The administrator did raise an important consideration, that "the Azores are not like the United States. We lack the proper conditions and resources." In 1974, expenses on education were only 2.4% of Portugal's national budget, up 1% from a decade earlier. By 1980 the percentage rose to 4.5, the same percentage that West Germany had allotted to education in back in 1974 (Ribeiro 1981:35). The following table shows that the percentage of the total yearly investment allotted to education by the Autonomous Regional Government of the Azores increased dramatically from right after the revolutionary period in 1977, through the early part of the 1980s, only to drop again in 1985.

Table 3.7
Azores Regional Government Expenditures on Education, as a
Percentage of Total Yearly Investment

| Year | 1977 | 1979 | 1981 | 1983 | 1985 |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| % | 3.2 | 9.3 | 10.3 | 14.2 | 8.5 |

Source: *Açores em Números, 10 Anos de Autonomia*, DREPA 1986

The regional government, in a plan approved by the EEC in November 1985, will allot 7.8% of its total investment budget for the years 1986 through 1990 for education.

The Ministry of Education recognizes that there is still no mechanism to effectively identify and punish truants, and that better academic success rates are likely to be linked, at least partially, to better attendance. So on the national level, administrators are looking for ways to make school more attractive to students and their parents. One method they have settled on is something that was proposed right after the revolution: to serve nutritious refreshments in school, free of charge. But in the Azores the Autonomous Regional Government has chosen to do just the opposite. On Christmas eve, 1987, a Faial newspaper, *O Telégrafo*, ran the startling headline "The Cup of Milk has Gone Extinct!" The article reported that a letter had just gone out to all parents to inform them that the regional government has eliminated the subsidy for the students' daily cup of milk. The writer was particularly outraged about this cut since the Azores is a milk producing region.

Portugal's education system lags far behind the rest of Europe, even among just the countries of southern Europe. The Azorean Regional Department of Studies and Planning (DREPA 1986b) considers that when more than 50% of a country's or region's students are enrolled in the

compulsory primary school grades, then that area is backward in terms of educational development. In 1986, 73% of Azorean students were in the then obligatory grades of first through sixth (DREPA 1986b). In 1975, Portugal had the lowest number of obligatory school grades in Europe. Portugal's six years (which had only just been raised from four in 1967) compared to Spain, Greece, France, Holland and West Germany who have ten years; Italy and East Germany with nine years; and Bulgaria and Yugoslavia with eight years. Of the above mentioned countries, Portugal had the lowest percentage of the population enrolled in public school or the university level, with 19.4% and 8.4% enrolled, respectively (Sampaio 1980). Only in 1987 was Portugal's obligatory school period raised from six to nine years in a new edition of the education law, the *Lei de Bases do Sistema Educativo*. Not all students were going on to sixth grade despite the law, and it is not expected that all students will attend school through the obligatory nine years now.

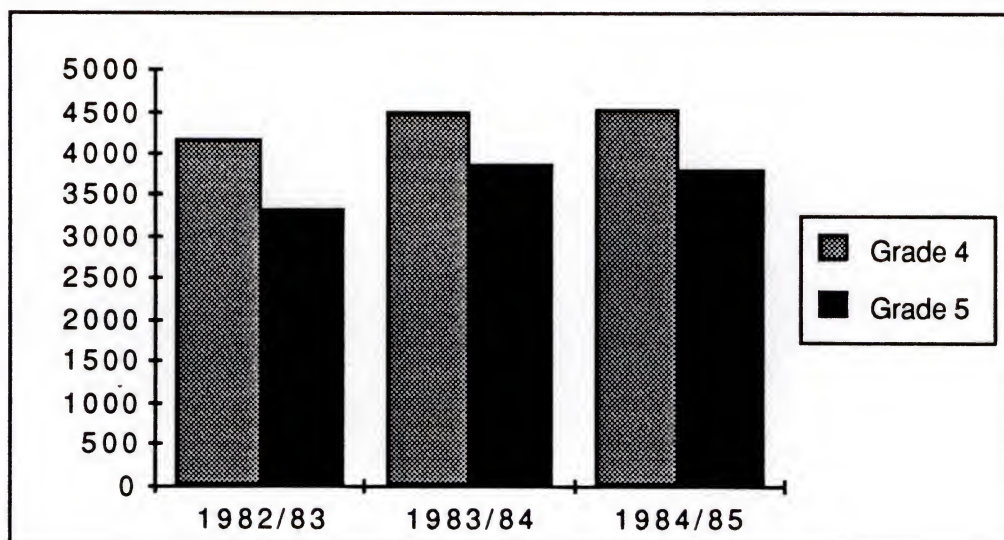


Figure 3.2
Number of Students Graduating from Grade 4
and Enrolling in Grade 5 the Following Year, Azores.

Source: *Situação Socioeconómica*, DREPA 1986

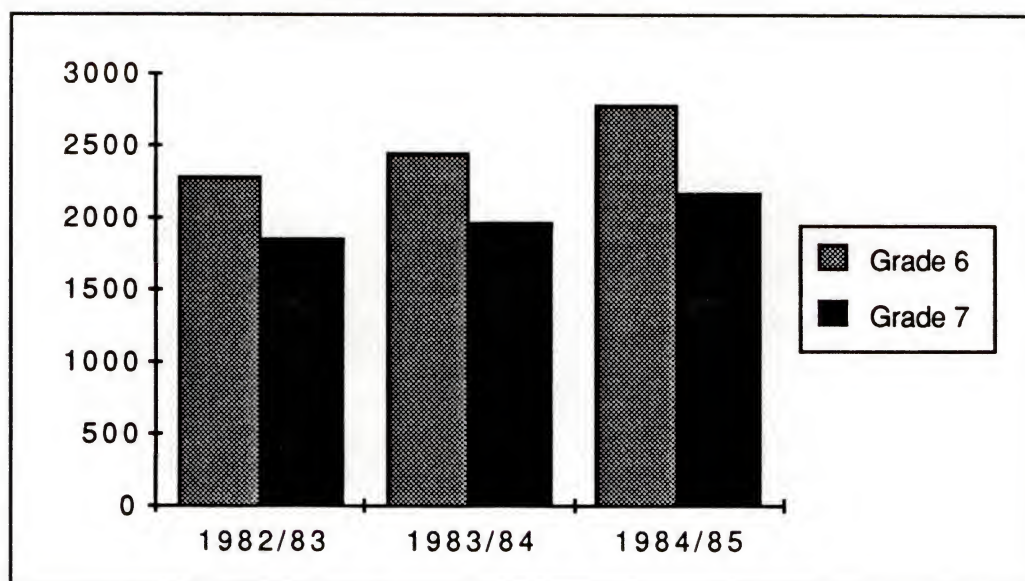


Figure 3.3
Number of Students Graduating from Grade 6
and Enrolling in Grade 7 the Following Year, Azores

Source: *Situação Socioeconómica*, DREPA 1986

Figure 3.2 shows the number of students who graduate from the final year of primary school (fourth grade) and continue on to fifth grade in preparatory school the next year. There was little variation in the three school years shown; in all cases, not all students matriculated into the next higher grade. In 1983, 19.8% of the students did not re-enter school, in 1984, 13.5% did not, and in 1985, 15.8% of the eligible students did not enter fifth grade. Figure 3.3 shows a similar relationship for graduating from preparatory school (sixth grade), and going on the next year to secondary school (seventh grade). In all three years, approximately 80% of the preparatory school graduates did not rematriculate the next year.

The 1987 education law officially created pre-school for children three to five years old. Since first grade starts when the child is six years old, this is

a significant development both for the early education opportunities for children, and for the relief it affords working parents of young children. Reliable and affordable early child care is becoming an increasingly important issue for Azorean families as more women are beginning to work outside the home.

Teacher Training

The proper training of teachers, especially primary school teachers, is a process that was afforded little importance during the Salazar years, and a problem that Portugal is still grappling with. Historically, primary school teachers, if they received training at all, attended an *Escola do Magistério Primário*. This teaching school has also been called "Middle Instruction," and overlapped with grades ten and eleven. More recently, a primary school teacher takes eleven years of regular school and three years in the *Magistério*. In the 1986/87 school year, 65 students graduated from the three *Magistérios* in the Azores. Unlike the regular school levels, the success rate among students in the *Magistérios* is excellent, at nearly 100% passing. The trend toward feminization of the field of education, established in the Salazar era, continues: 125 of the 142 students enrolled in the 1987/88 school year were females, and all of the 26 students in the pre-school course were female (*O Telégrafo* 10/9/87).

Recent restructuring of the Portuguese education system has called for replacement of the *Magistérios* with the *Escola Superior do Educação*. This would essentially give the pre-school and primary school teachers a broader-based education somewhat akin to a university education, and would consist of twelve years in regular school and three in the *Escola Superior*. The resulting degree would be the "bacharel." These schools are already

established in many locales throughout continental Portugal, but the Azores, as a relatively isolated and historically dependent region of Portugal, lags behind in the changes. Another factor leading to the delay is a seemingly insoluble dispute concerning which of the three main, highly competitive islands--Faial, Terceira or São Miguel--should get the first *Escola Superior*.

The delay has been so great that already, before the plan could be implemented, an entirely new system is being developed. The new plan calls for creation of *Centros Integrados do Formação de Professores* (CIFOP), Integrated Centers for the Formation of Teachers. The CIFOPs would be integrated with the universities, and so could only be established where there is a university or a university branch. In the Azores there are three branches of the University of the Azores--on São Miguel, Terceira, and Faial-- but only two are slated to receive CIFOPs. Faial is slated to be left out, ostensibly because of the lack of adequate staff at the university branch there. In reaction, the local Faial newspaper ran numerous articles defending the quality of the *Magistério* that it already has and does not want to lose. The newspaper argues that the *Magistérios* are "refuges" for those who cannot afford to go to the university but who desire advanced education and a career. An essayist attributed the new changes towards CIFOPs to Lisbon's "mentality of centralization" (*O Telégrafo* 4/22/87). Again, it is women who are particularly affected because virtually all the students at the *Magistérios* are female. Another article claimed discrimination against Faial if the government is using the excuse that there are so few doctorate holders at the Faial branch. It is true that there are few doctorates among the staff, but it is also true of the other two branches. Of the three branches of the University of the Azores, only São Miguel, the main branch, is more than a specialized

research institute at this time. And even São Miguel has few holders of doctorates on its teaching staff.

The CIFOP controversy has once again set off the familiar rivalries among the three most powerful islands, but for good reason. While post-revolutionary goals had originally been to democratize education and extend its reaches to all, the CIFOP essentially restricts access to those who can afford to relocate to a university center. Adding fuel to the controversy is the National Federation of Professor's 1986 declaration demanding better training for teachers. Particularly, they would like to see pre-school and primary school teachers follow twelve years of school with five years in the university to earn the *licenciatura* degree as is required of preparatory and secondary school teachers. One of the reasons for the proposed upgrading of primary school teacher education is the need to improve the inferior image that lower level teachers--who were in the past and are now primarily female--had suffered under the *Estado Novo*. Their other major demand is for a system of continuing certification for teachers to ensure that they stay up to date. This is important in a system undergoing continual change, and would also bring the older teachers into step with the new pedagogy (Federação Nacional dos Professores 1986). Considering the difficulty involved in implementing even basic changes, especially in a geographically isolated region like the Azores, the Federation's goals are not likely to see fruition in the near future.

The Universities

A number of regional universities have been created throughout Portugal since the revolution. This has extended access to a greater portion of the population. One of the concerns of the post-revolutionary governments was how to conceive the role of the university under the new political

system. In all prior regimes, a classical university education was available only to the elite. That situation was to be changed. But would a classical education serve the needs of the developing Portuguese nation in the modern world, a country that had wanted desperately to join the European Economic Community? Diversification seemed to be the answer. Professor Moor of the Council of Europe argued in 1978:

The classical systems of higher education cannot, in the majority of cases, satisfy the different individual needs of a continuously more heterogeneous clientele of students, nor can it respond to the necessities of the technically advanced democratic European societies. (Moor, cited in Braga and Grilo 1981:233)

In Portugal, it was felt that a way to reverse the elitist orientation of the university would be to reorient the schools in a more practical way, in alignment with individual needs to accommodate an expanding job market.

According to Alves (1985), when the University of the Azores was created in 1976, there was considerable debate over what sort of institution it would be. Alves argues that the island archipelago was not in need of a classical university. And as the university has developed, it has not been modeled after the continental classical universities, and it has become predominantly a teacher training institution: 90% of the students become teachers.

The University of the Azores was created in 1976 amidst heated opposition from the continent. For its first few years it was denied the full status of university, and was categorized as a University Institute. Some say that the Azores were granted their own university only as a concession after the revolution when the archipelago was threatening secession. But Azorean leaders felt justified in their request, citing the needs of the many

students who could not afford to relocate to the continent, and women in particular who might be forbidden to go so far from home. Alves (1985) claims that the Azorean people had long wanted a university of their own. This desire for an Azorean university on the part of the general populace did not necessarily stem from an acute need for an institution of higher education located on the islands. Until recently in the Azores, a ninth grade education was regarded as advanced. However, since there were few universities throughout the whole of Portugal, a university on the archipelago was seen as a symbol that the Azores was a distinctly important region within Portugal.

The university has developed by now to the point that it little services the Azorean people, for a full 70% of the students are from the continent. When in 1977 Chapin (1980) studied out-migration from the island of São Miguel where the University of the Azores is located, she found that the inferior status of the University of the Azores made it an undesirable place to be educated. For those who had the resources to go elsewhere, depending on the family's socioeconomic status and history of migration to North America, the preferred choice was between the relative attributes of a continental or North American university. The second half of the decade of the 70s, following the turmoil of the Portuguese revolution, saw an increased interest in American universities. These universities became logical alternatives for Azoreans, particularly of the elite group, who would otherwise have chosen to enroll at a school on the continent. There had been less migration to North America from the elite strata of Azorean society, and families from this group tended to view America disparagingly as a migration destination due to economic necessity. Continental Portugal was seen as a center of Culture, and so was considered an admirable destination to pursue higher

education. But the political chaos following the revolution changed this pattern (Chapin 1980). Indeed, a number of young people now working in responsible positions at the University of the Azores and for the Autonomous Regional Government of the Azores--with many women represented among them--left universities in Lisbon at the start of the revolution to continue their education at one of several colleges and universities in Massachusetts. It was a break from pattern for them and their families: although they chose schools in a region of the United States heavily populated by their fellow Azoreans, none of these young professionals have close relatives there. They are not from migrant families. And settled once again in the Azores, these former students do not consider themselves return-migrants, because they did not migrate in the usual sense of the term, that is, to work. From the students' perspective, they went away to school, and now they have come home.

But for the ordinary Azorean, the virtues of one university over another is an irrelevant issue. Many teenagers who are attending secondary school are the first in their families to complete more than the basic four or six years of school. To their families, a high school degree seems excessive. In fifteen months of study on Faial and Pico, I never met a rural teenager who planned to go to a university, either in the Azores or elsewhere. At the most, one girl persuaded her father to allow her to enroll in a vocational school on São Miguel to learn to be a travel agent. She hoped that this profession would provide her a way to "get off these islands."

The University as a Teacher Training Institution

Since the revolution, with the expansion of the preparatory and secondary school system, there is a severe shortage of teachers for those

levels. Consequently, large percentage of students are studying to be upper level school teachers since the job market is in their favor. Most of these students are women. When upper level schooling was optional and reserved primarily for the elite of Azorean society, it was taught almost exclusively by men. However, as in many occupations that were initially the domain of men, but which become feminized when their commonness diminishes their social value, women are taking over all levels of public school teaching. Now that prolonged schooling, at least through the tenth grade, is becoming more common for both males and females, upper level teaching is no longer regarded as a male domain. Women make up more than half the teachers for most school subjects at the preparatory and secondary levels.

Table 3.8
Percentage of Female Teachers in Portuguese
Preparatory Schools by Discipline, 1981/82

| <u>Subject</u> | <u>%</u> |
|---------------------------------------|----------|
| Portuguese/English | 94.3 |
| Portuguese/French | 90.4 |
| Visual Education | 72.5 |
| Math/Science | 70.9 |
| Portuguese/History/ Social Studies | 67.3 |
| Music | 56.2 |
| Physical Education | 44.1 |
| Religion and Morals | 35.6 |

Source: Fernandes 1987

In the 1980/81 school year women constituted over 90% of the language teachers in Portuguese preparatory schools, where women achieve their greatest representation. Math and science are fields commonly associated in other countries with the male domain of academia, but in Portugal 71% of the

teachers are women. Interestingly, women achieve their lowest representation in the area of "religion and morality," precisely the domain that was entrusted to them in the home during the years of the *Estado Novo*. This represents a distinction between the private and the public spheres: in the private sphere women are responsible for the moral and religious training of their children, yet in the public sphere these activities are predominantly the domain of men.

Table 3.9
Percentage of Female Teachers in Portuguese
Secondary Schools by Discipline, 1981/82

| Subject | % |
|------------------------|------|
| English/German | 90.9 |
| Portuguese/French | 84.9 |
| Physics | 82.7 |
| Chemistry | 78.9 |
| Biology | 77.8 |
| Geology | 77.8 |
| Geography | 76.1 |
| History | 64.0 |
| Mathematics | 62.1 |
| Portuguese/Latin/Greek | 48.1 |
| Music | 52.0 |
| Visual Art | 52.0 |
| Philosophy | 47.2 |
| Physical Education | 43.0 |
| Religion and Morals | 22.4 |

Source: Fernandes 1987

In the secondary schools a similar pattern exists, with the percentage of women teaching religion and morals down to 22.4. While women make up the majority of Portuguese, English, French and German teachers, less than half of the teachers of the classical languages, Latin and Greek, are women.

Table 3.10
Percentage of Female Professors and Students in
Portuguese Universities and University Institutes by Discipline

| Discipline | 1974/75 | | 1977/78 | | 1980/81 | |
|--------------------------------|---------|------|---------|------|---------|------|
| | Profs | Stu | Profs | Stu | Profs | Stu |
| Engineering | 15.2 | 16.3 | 17.2 | 15.4 | 20.0 | 21.1 |
| Physical Ed | 16.7 | 27.2 | 20.3 | 24.3 | 20.0 | 32.1 |
| Law | 04.0 | 17.1 | 23.8 | 25.2 | 19.7 | 32.4 |
| Economics | 14.0 | 32.2 | 17.5 | 32.1 | 21.6 | 34.8 |
| Veterinary Med and Agron | 08.3 | 27.0 | 17.3 | 27.7 | 23.5 | 38.9 |
| Medicine | 14.9 | 36.6 | 23.3 | 47.5 | 22.5 | 50.0 |
| Arts/Music | 19.4 | 76.3 | 23.9 | 62.7 | 52.6 | 56.3 |
| Sciences | 42.6 | 83.8 | 52.9 | 66.3 | 52.4 | 64.1 |
| Social Science and Politics | 20.2 | 33.7 | 24.8 | 41.6 | 42.5 | 65.3 |
| Psychology | 32.4 | 55.7 | 20.7 | 61.1 | 41.3 | 66.8 |
| Pharmacy | 60.7 | 86.3 | 63.8 | 72.8 | 68.0 | 71.4 |
| Social Services | 33.3 | 88.6 | 45.7 | 90.8 | 50.7 | 92.2 |

Source: Fernandes 1987

In the universities, females constituted more than 50% of the professors in the fields of arts and music, natural sciences, and social services. The largest percentage of female instructors in 1980/81 was in pharmacological studies, which represented the largest amount of female students next to social services. However, the percentage of female pharmacology students has been steadily dropping since 1974. Female students made up more than 50% of the students studying psychology, social science and politics, natural sciences, and arts and music, but the percentage of female students in arts and music and natural sciences decreased from 1974 to 1980. In 1980, 59% of the medical students were female. The fields of law, social sciences and politics have seen the most dramatic increases in female

enrollment since 1974--almost a doubling. At the time of the revolution, only 4% of the instructors and 17% of the students of law were women. Under Salazar all of the social sciences suffered a sharp decline and social science disciplines were restored to the general curriculum as recently as during Caetano's rule. It is no surprise, then, that female representation in this field and in political studies was low in 1974. It is reasonable to believe that such studies were rare for either sex. While the percentages of female students in engineering, physical education, economics and veterinary medicine and agronomy increased from 1974 to 1980, females still represent a minor portion of the students in those disciplines.

The Current Restructuring

The Portuguese educational system is currently going through yet another major restructuring. In 1986, the governmental Educational System Reform Commission was established to solicit members for a diversity of study groups that would investigate problems in all levels of education. The commission's work resulted in a two-volume document that does not analyze the problems, but describes in detail the goals that the study groups have deemed Portugal's educational system should work towards (Comissão de Reforma do Sistema Educativo 1987). The commission recommends such improvements as increased student/teacher interaction, increased ties of the schools with the community, broadened curricula aimed toward technical studies, better student counseling, an emphasis on Portuguese reading and writing, an improved system of student evaluation, and creation of an interdisciplinary perspective.

In the spirit of democracy, these documents were published in November of 1987, and opened to critical analysis through the mechanism of

public meetings throughout Portugal in early 1988. "*Dia D*" was anticipated in the newspapers for a month prior to the designated day for the simultaneous meetings. Primarily the teachers were involved, but the Ministry of Education had hoped that students and parents would participate, also. Typically, "*Dia D*" in the Azores was held three weeks after the event on the continent, ostensibly due to a difficulty in delivering the documents to the islands on time. The local newspapers covered the upcoming event heavily, with news articles and editorials, but in reality the education conferences did not create much interest on the islands. On São Miguel, the most populous island, some secondary school students participated, but few parents attended the meetings (*Acoriano Oriental* March 2, 1988). On Faial, not a single student or parent attended the meetings. The lack of participation on the part of the parents should have been expected. "*Dia D*" was held on a weekday, making it difficult for parents to attend. And the majority of parents, particularly in the rural areas, would not have had more than the minimal education themselves and do not view their role as one that extends to policymaking in the formal education system. The results of the myriad of meetings throughout the country have been forwarded to Lisbon, and will be announced "sometime in the future." Meanwhile, the students and the teachers muddle along, waiting for further directive, but each following his or her own agenda.

Conclusions

Historically, the Portuguese state has used the institution of education to achieve certain objectives. The primary objective was to maintain and perpetuate the ideological notion of patriarchy. The natural order was assumed to consist of a hierarchical division between men and women and

their specific social roles were divinely created. How this natural order was ideologically presented at different points in history has varied. The Jesuits and Franciscans each taught children of different class backgrounds, but neither considered female children worthy of instruction. The Marquis do Pombal and the republicans attempted to liberalize the education process to include women, but these attempts failed because they were largely political attempts with little basis in action. Ironically, it was Salazar who opened up educational opportunities for women. But Salazar was only minimally concerned that his schools produce literate and knowledgeable citizens. His primary goal in extending basic education throughout the country was to insure that all Portuguese children were exposed, through the formal socialization of school, to his political doctrine of gender and class inequality. If not at home, then little girls learned in school how they were to behave within the constraints of the social hierarchy of the *Estado Novo*.

The socialist governments that followed the overthrow of the dictatorship highlighted the subordinated position of women under the *Estado Novo* as one of the primary relationships to be changed. Like Salazar, the revolutionary governments recognized the formal school system as a useful mechanism for the dissemination of a new social and political ideology. Women have been particularly encouraged to remain in school for the full obligatory years, and beyond. The feminization of the teaching profession effected under Salazar remains, and while the profession is now more respected and better paid than during the Salazar era, it is not considered a "high status" job. As preparatory and secondary schooling extends to more teenagers and teaching jobs increase in number, women are filling in the teaching positions at these higher levels, giving them a fairly well paid and more respected work niche. But changes in teaching techniques

are slow to come to the Azores and throughout Portugal because of the conservative attitude of the majority of primary school teachers who are still operating under the doctrine of the *Estado Novo*.

At the same time as higher schooling has been extended to females, women are beginning to enter the labor force at increasing rates. Secondary schooling ostensibly is preparing these young women for their future professions, but it is still unclear to the teachers, state officials and planners, and to the students themselves just what their years in school will do for them. Despite state rhetoric to the contrary, school texts still emphasize the traditional and stereotypic role of women as mothers whose primary responsibility lies in the domestic sphere (Leal 1982). Women are depicted as passive with a loving nature, and a tidy and attractive appearance. Secondly, if women in these texts are shown working outside the home, they participate in such professions typically assumed to be compatible with the female nature such as "teachers, lollipop ladies, embroiderers or gleaners, in other words women's traditional callings and those with low social status" (Silva 1984). This creates a conflict in primary school girls as the female models in their text books do not appear to benefit from continued education. I discuss in the following chapters the issues involved in the choices young Azorean women are having to make about schooling, marriage, and work.

CHAPTER 4 COURTSHIP, MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

Introduction

We are first and foremost not political or economic man but family men and women. Family imagery goes deep and runs strong, and all of us, for better or worse, sporadically or consistently, have access to that imagery, for we all come from families even if we do not go on to create our own. . . . The family is that arena that first humanizes us or, tragically, damages us. The family is our entry point into the wider social world. (Elshtain 1980:56)

Although this work examines women and their changing social and economic roles in Azorean society, women must be seen as social actors who live in society and not apart from it. In the Azores, the most immediate context where women interact is the private sphere of the family, or more specifically, the household. This chapter examines the mechanisms by which women form the marriage alliances that transform their status in the household from daughter to wife, and which in many cases remove them from the household of their childhood to another. The processes of courtship and marriage have been changing in recent years as young women stay in school longer and women's roles take on a new importance in the public sphere of wage labor. As a result, the traditional precedence of the private sphere as a source of status and self-identification diminishes in the eyes of

many young women. In the following sections I discuss these changing patterns of courtship, marriage and family size as a basis for understanding the factors relating to the composition and formation of households and household dynamics, which are the subject of the next chapter.

Courtship

In recent years, courtship is an area of Azorean social life that has been affected by the increasing entry of both male and female rural Azoreans into the public sphere of higher education and paid employment in the city. Traditionally, and certainly during the Salazar years, young boys and girls ideally interacted only under structured and supervised circumstances. As children, they played in their homes and near the house, more likely with siblings and cousins than with neighbors. When they went to school, they were separated by sex. As children got older, they were responsible for helping their parents with domestic and agricultural tasks, and when these activities took girls out of the domestic domain they provided the primary opportunities for boys and girls to meet in an unchaperoned situation. For example, households had flour ground in small amounts at a time, and it was an older daughter's task to make the often long walk from the village to the windmill with a basket of corn on her head. Azorean folklore warns in stories and poems of the dangers a girl might encounter on her way to or even at the windmill (Lima 1942).

Honor and Shame

Rogers (1979) maintains that pre-marital sex on the islands was not common, partly due to a strict adherence to acceptable moral behavior, and

equally because there was little opportunity to be alone. Rogers (1979:303) claims that for Salazarian era Azores, in general,

given the homogeneous and closed nature of society in the islands, the Insular Portuguese had no choice prior to the Revolution but to conform. They accepted the beliefs of the traditional Church and with them the complete moral code.

The moral code centered on the chastity of women. Cutiliero (1971:99), studying a village in southern Portugal during the dictatorship, found that "the bride's virginity and the wife's fidelity are the basic moral assumptions on which the family is built." However, Cutiliero noted also that a woman's purity stands in delicate balance with her *vicio* (vice), and it is for the honor of himself and his family that a man endeavors to keep his wife, daughters or sisters from succumbing to the dark side of their nature. This honor/shame, or sacred/profane, complex is seen throughout the cross-cultural literature and is especially prevalent in societies that exhibit a distinct division in the spatial aspect of the public and private spheres. For the rural areas, Goody (1983:30) argues that "the role of women in the house is closely linked to the greater role they have in the fields, which is in turn related to differences in the concepts of honour." In the Azores, where peasant women's work has taken them outside the home and into the fields, notions concerning the defense of "honor" are not as prevalent as in other regions of Portugal and elsewhere in the Mediterranean.

In many societies, women's sexuality is most easily guarded by confinement, or at least, disguise. In the Azores until the liberalizing effect of the 1974 revolution, the *ideal* state for women had been confinement to the home, although for rural women this was not practical and thus was not practiced. In the urbanized areas houses were built with dense and ornate

iron grillwork on the outsides of the windows and balconies and lace curtains were hung inside in order to hide from passersby the image of the woman inside sitting knitting or crocheting by the afternoon light (Lima 1943). A British visitor to the islands in the late nineteenth century commented,

A Portuguese aphorism has laid down that a woman should, during her life-time, only leave home three times--to be christened, married, and buried; and the native ladies would appear to follow out this precept in a great measure, for they are seldom seen abroad, and when they are, it is generally under escort of their mothers or other discreet relatives. (Walker 1886:294)

When wealthier, urban women did go out of the house they wore the traditional blue wool cloak and attached hood thought to be of either Flemish or French origin, called the *capote* and *capelo* (Afonso 1987). The floor-length cloak and enormous, stiff hood disguised a woman's identity completely. One woman was distinguished from another solely by the tips of her shoes or a distinctive brooch worn on the cape. A white scarf was worn over the head, even under the *capelo*, and it sometimes covered the lower portion of the face. This was the ideal dress and all women were thought to aspire to its use (Vermette 1984).

However, one's social class limits the degree to which ideals can be met. Where the urban women of noble, commercial or other wealthy families who were held up as models for feminine behavior led lives of relative leisure, spending their days perfecting their skills in the needle arts and tending to the administration of their servant-filled houses, peasant women required a more practical and less costly style of dress. It was thus extremely unusual to see a peasant woman wearing the expensive, unwieldy *capote* and *capelo*. Baker (1882), a visitor to Faial and Pico in the late 1800s reports that rural women wore their hair in braids under red and yellow

scarves and straw hats. They went barefoot and wore "short" wide skirts that exposed their ankles,¹ no doubt in order to afford freedom of movement during performance of their household and agricultural tasks. Peasant women did not have the luxury of seclusion in the house, and had to go outside frequently to work in the fields, gather firewood, collect water and do the laundry at the public well, bring the grain to the mill to be ground, bring butter and agricultural produce to the city for sale, and a multitude of other "domestic" tasks.

The use of the *capote* and *capelo* died out completely by the 1930s, and most urban and all wealthy women now dress in the latest North American or European fashions and go bareheaded. Urban women are often seen in the streets of the islands' cities and major towns. On Faial, a new café has opened that caters to couples in this class, and women are seen there in the same proportion as men. Rural women older than about forty years of age still leave the house only to perform a specific task, and they wear a head scarf whenever they step out of the house, even if it is for just a minute. Some say that they no longer wear the scarf out of modesty, but that they have become accustomed to its use after so many years, and are afraid of catching cold (a *friosinho*) if they stop. One of my female neighbors on Pico quickly tore off her thick, brown head scarf when I asked to take her picture. She replaced the scarf immediately afterwards, and I never saw her without it again. Many younger rural women eschew the scarf altogether, and consider it a symbol of

¹ It was common for rural men as well as women to go barefoot until as recently as the time of the revolution. When rural men did wear shoes they were a simple slab of leather with a leather strap. Photographs taken throughout the Salazar years consistently show barefoot men in suits. Several sons and daughters of peasants who managed to obtain enough education to get jobs in the expanding, post-revolutionary urban bureaucracy told me that they got their first pair of shoes when they came into the city to look for a job.

the more restrictive past decades that they prefer to ideologically distance themselves from.

Pre-marital sexual relations in the Azores likely occurred to some extent in the past and continue today despite moral and structural obstacles. It is not met with strong social sanctions. Azoreans express a preference that brides be virgins and that spouses (men as well as women) maintain fidelity, but a violation of the social rules regarding women's behavior seldom leads to a situation where families need to avenge their honor in the way that occurs elsewhere. Ortner (1978) argues for the existence of women's association with pollution, shame or dishonor in *all* state societies. However, the Azorean case illustrates that societies differ to the *degree* with which they manifest the association. For example, where the nature of the economy is such that women must work in the fields and otherwise leave the house, the defense of honor might be less intense than in a region where women's moral behavior can be guarded with heightened ease and security.

Goody (1983:29) suggests that another factor mediating the severity with which "breaches of faith or honour" are met by men and society is the average age at marriage for women. Goody maintains that when women are married later--in their twenties rather than teens--virginity at marriage is not considered as important. This, as will be discussed in a later section, also applies to the Azorean case. ✓

Another consideration is the use of violence in general in a society to avenge one's or one's family's honor. Galt's (1974) study in southern Italy demonstrates that proximate regions within a single country can differ as to the degree and application of violence exhibited for whatever reason by the residents. In Azorean society the use of violence to settle a dispute is not common. In the case of a single woman becoming pregnant by a man who is

known to be courting her, she is not normally subjected to strong sanctions by her family or the other villagers. And her family's honor is usually preserved by arranging a marriage before the birth of the baby. A former nurse at the state-run health service claims that while unmarried women commonly came in for prenatal care, by the time of birth few of these women remained unmarried.

Illegitimacy, Separation and Divorce

In the Azores the rate of illegitimate births is extremely low. The 1981 census lists 21 unwed mothers on Faial out of a total of 1675 single women over age 12. Six of those women are older than 65 and only 2 are under age 25. On Pico, 29 unwed mothers were listed out of 1603 single women in that age group. Eleven of these women are older than 65 and 4 are younger than 25 (INE 1981:565, 567). In the contrasting case of northern Portugal, illegitimate births have been very common in the past although the rate has declined in this century. Brettell (1986) argues that illegitimacy in the Minho region has resulted from a combination of factors including a skewed male to female ratio due to the heavy outmigration of males, the lack of parental supervision, and the high levels of interaction between men and women since women perform a tremendous amount of agricultural fieldwork. All these conditions differ markedly from the Azorean situation, particularly since Azorean migration during the twentieth century typically has taken place in family units.

Rogers (1979) writes that abortions performed clandestinely by midwives have long been available in the rural areas. Abortion is now conditionally legal in Portugal, and is supposed to be restricted to the case where the life of the mother is in danger (de Almeida Costa 1984). This

condition is open to subjective definition, and Azorean doctors sometimes send women to Lisbon for the operation on the basis that birth of the child will result in psychological harm to the woman. On Pico and Faial there is no doctor willing to perform the operation.

As mentioned above, the most prevalent solution to avoid an illegitimate birth is for the young couple to marry. For example, Graça, a 19 year old woman on Pico had been born in Canada, and her family returned to the island when she was 6. Graça got pregnant while in the eighth grade, and her doctor counseled her to have the fetus aborted. Graça's boyfriend strongly objected, and he offered to marry her instead. There was some confusion about Graça's papers since she is not a Portuguese citizen, and the wedding could not take place until several months after the baby was born. Graça says that when the news of her predicament first was revealed,

The villagers, of course, gossiped about me. But they didn't give me a very bad time because he was my first boyfriend. They didn't think that I'm a bad person. Actually, since he was my first, and since I got pregnant, they treated it like something that was meant to be. They considered me *santa* (blessed). Now I don't think that anyone cares anymore about the circumstances of my son's birth.

Unless a woman openly defies the ideal social norms with overtly "promiscuous" behavior, she has usually not been ostracized or treated differently than other mothers and wives once she has given birth and married. However, since only the four grades of primary school are available in the villages, and in order to attend preparatory and high school students must travel daily by public bus to one of the principal population centers on each island, young girls and teenagers are spending more unsupervised time away from home than ever before. Most job opportunities also are located in

the islands' towns and small cities. With more young women spending time in the urban areas at school and work, there is a general perception among the villagers that morals are beginning to deteriorate. A common refrain in the villages is that "More and more teenagers are getting pregnant, getting married, and a few years later getting divorced." This idea represents the ambivalence that many villagers feel about the post-revolutionary liberalization of the civil code regarding divorce, as well as the fears that many hold about the changes that they expect to come about in an increasingly open and public society. Thus far, concerns about the dissolution of the family are not reflected in the divorce statistics, as only .6% of women on Faial and .25% of women on Pico over age 14 were listed as divorced in the 1981 census. The ages of the divorced women are not concentrated in the younger regions, but range from 23 to 80. The number of broken marriages slightly exceeds the number of divorces, since separations are not taken into account in the statistics. Divorce has been possible since the revision of the civil code shortly before the time of the revolution, but older people who separated before then tended to remain in unformalized separation. Some object to divorce on religious grounds, particularly women who were abandoned by their husbands. While separation does exist on Faial and Pico, it is not common, and separation and divorce are cited by villagers as problems of more developed countries like the United States and Canada.

Table 4.1
Number of Separations and Divorces, 1981

| | <u>Azores</u> | <u>Pico</u> | <u>Faial</u> |
|-------------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|
| <u>Total Pop*</u> | | | |
| Female | 87882 | 6092 | 6050 |
| Male | 83270 | 6073 | 5544 |
| <u>Separated</u> | | | |
| Female | 626 | 41 | 56 |
| Male | 463 | 49 | 52 |
| <u>Divorced</u> | | | |
| Female | 269 | 15 | 36 |
| Male | 197 | 13 | 25 |

Note: *over age 14

Source: INE 1981:350,355,357

Courtship Patterns

There is no steadfast rule that stipulates village endogamy or marriage between cousins. Nor are such marriages cited by villagers as preferable. However, both have been very common due to the limited possible mobility around the island that has characterized Azorean life until recent years, to the closeness of family members, and to land inheritance partible equally among male and female heirs. In the Azores there have been few traditional, formalized mechanisms that bring young men and women together daily or even weekly under socially sanctioned circumstances. Elsewhere, in Spain for example, the villagers regularly participate in the evening *paseo* around the plaza or village which is how Spanish teenagers routinely interact and can embark on the initial stages of courtship. Spanish children form *cuadrillas* (friendship groups) that last through their lifetimes and which serve as mechanisms by which young women go out in public in the moral safety of their group. The female *cuadrillas* both protect their members from

social disgrace while at the same time they facilitate interaction between women and their suitors.¹

Conversely, as I emphasized in Chapter 1, the Azores is not a public culture, and affords no such institutionalized mechanisms for informal public social interaction. Rather, periodic formal dances in the parish community centers--with the elderly somberly looking on--have been the primary means by which Azorean males and females have initiated courtship. Once begun, the traditional progression of a courtship proceeds with the young man standing against the wall outside the woman's house, whispering to her through the open window. After a while if the man has serious intentions, he will be invited into the house to visit, always with one of the woman's adult relatives present. I am told that ideally in the next stage, the couple takes chaperoned, early evening walks, however this I did not see. A couple is never supposed to be alone before the wedding night. And *festas* and dances where the couple's behavior was continually scrutinized provided the only contexts for public entertainment.

Courtship patterns are changing, but thus far many traditional elements are still intact, albeit in diminished form. As I discuss in Chapter 6, the *festas* and dances are no longer the most important meeting places for many young people. Due to the influence of prolonged schooling in the cities through the teenage years, and young people working in the city before marriage, Azoreans have more opportunities to meet and interact. However since family elders still maintain considerable control over the decisions and actions of rural Azorean youth, the *festas* still function as places where the

¹ This information was obtained through personal communication with Barbara Hendry and Anthony Oliver-Smith, both of whom have done anthropological fieldwork in the La Rioja region of Spain. See also Pitt-Rivers (1961) for a similar phenomenon in Andalusia.

young couple and the families interact publicly. Some couples in the early stages of courtship still talk to each other through the windows, and couple dating is unusual. Urban young people now frequent the few city café/bars in mixed-sex groups during the afternoons after school and on Sundays, but it is not considered appropriate for rural youth to do so. Unmarried rural women who work in the city are expected by their elders to go home to their village soon after quitting work. This is reinforced by most youth having to travel by public bus service. The last bus leaves the city in each direction around 6 p.m. Couple dating is not likely to develop in the near future in the Azores because besides the cultural obstacles already discussed, there are infrastructural obstacles. Women are rarely seen in the few restaurants and even more rarely in the café/bars in the evenings. On Faial and Pico a disco is occasionally set up to coincide with a large festival, and rural young people if they attend at all, go in groups. The few movie theaters cater mostly to males. The "modern" trend in the villages is for a young man to be allowed to pick up his fiancé of long-standing at her home and walk with her alone, hand in hand, to a village *festa* or dance.

Marriage

Consensual Unions

Consensual unions among young people generally do not occur on Pico and Faial, and I knew of none. However, two older people who are widowed, divorced or separated may choose to live together without marrying. This decision not to marry can be the result of a combination of reasons including the inability to have a second church wedding after divorce, and the desire not to dilute the power of inheritance of each partner's heirs by creating additional heirs through marriage. The

importance of this last consideration was demonstrated in Praia das Pedras after an elderly couple died in a tragic household accident. A widow and a widower, they had met and married while living and working in a migrant community in Massachusetts. The husband was originally from an island other than Faial, but they returned to the wife's ancestral home in Praia das Pedras. They had both worked in factories in Massachusetts, and they invested a portion of their savings in the renovation of the old house so that it contained all the amenities of a simple but modern house in the United States. The couple was not wealthy; they had been living off their combined retirement and old age pensions. But the house was well situated to benefit from the increase in property prices brought on by touristic development. After the couple's untimely death, the disposal of the valuable house in the beachfront village of Praia das Pedras came into serious dispute. What greatly exacerbated the situation, and took the wife's relatives in the village by surprise, were the claims that the husband's numerous children from his first marriage were making on what they considered to be their rightful share of the inheritance. The situation deteriorated rapidly to the extent that an unrelated neutral person was appointed as the caretaker of the house, and no one else was allowed inside.

In contrast, on Pico, an older couple in Santarosa decided against marriage. The woman was widowed and childless, and the husband was divorced with grown children. At the time of the study they had lived together in the woman's house for ten years. A neighbor explained in a matter-of-fact way why the couple had never married. "*Para que* (what for)?"

she said. "When they die it would be his children who would get her property."¹

Civil and Church Weddings

Most Azoreans still profess to be Catholics, but at least one third of the recent weddings are not taking place in the Catholic Church. While in 1970, 11% of the total weddings in the Azores were just civil marriages or, less commonly, in a religion other than Catholicism, by 1981 this rate had risen significantly to 33%. On Pico, 37% of the weddings in 1981 were non-Catholic, and on Faial, 35% were non-Catholic. The increase in non-Catholic weddings reflects several trends: the decreased influence of the Church in daily lives since the revolution has weakened the Church's position in Portugal, the consequent freedom villagers have to express a longstanding disregard for formal Church doctrine, and the increasing acceptance of the notion of divorce. Although divorce is permissible by law, matters are complicated by the prohibitions of the Catholic Church. Some young couples, then, are opting to forego the initial marriage in the Church to allow for the future possibility of divorce, remarriage, and a Church wedding.

Couples who do choose to marry in the Catholic Church are required by law to have a civil marriage also. These couples and their families who hold the Catholic wedding in high regard tend not to consider the civil marriage as a true marriage. For example, Emília's parents gave her and her fiancé, Alberto, a dilapidated house on the family land to renovate for their future home. Emília and Alberto were determined to make the old house habitable before they wed so that they could move into their own house

¹ See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the problems that arise concerning inheritance.

together right away. Progress on the house was slow since all the men in their families engage in wage labor, and could only help them with the house occasionally in the evening and on weekends. An additional obstacle was that while the couple, themselves, were willing to work on the house for as many hours during the week as possible, Emília's mother would not allow her to be alone in the house with her fiancé. One day, a full year before the anticipated wedding, Emília told me that she had applied for a construction subsidy under the *habitação degradada* program. This information conflicted with the requirements that applicants be married. When I pointed this out, Emília said very casually, "Oh that. Well, we went to the office last week and got married. *Não ha problema* (No problem)." I had not already heard about the marriage through the extensive family "grapevine" because, Emília's aunt and other relatives explained over the following days, the civil marriage was hardly worth mentioning. In fact, until the couple had their church wedding five months later, they continued to behave as they had prior to the civil ceremony. Each lived in his and her parents' home, and they were still not permitted to spend unchaperoned time with each other, even while working on the house.

The Wedding and Trousseaux

Traditionally, after the wedding ceremony family and friends are invited to a wedding supper. The families of both the bride and the groom contribute money and food for the wedding feast. In the Azores, there is no historical reference to the existence of a dowry, and elderly Azoreans maintain that a dowry has never been the custom on the islands. Weddings are not contingent upon promises of land inheritance, but, one elderly Faialense woman asserted: "Some men would try to marry wealthy girls,

keeping in mind that some day it would all be theirs." Inheritance has been partible by law in Portugal since 1867, but before the 1974 revolution all the property that a married woman inherited legally came under the administration of her husband. Some Azoreans still think this way. A Faialense man with no outward appearance of wealth was pointed out to me as the richest man in the village. This was because his wife, an only child, will inherit a large amount of land upon her parents' death. In recent years, as discussed above, children sometimes receive part of their land inheritance upon marriage in order to build their own house.

It is traditional for the groom's family to provide the newlyweds with a bed, mattress, sheets, pillows, blankets and towels. The bride's family, whose contribution is usually slightly greater, provides other basic household items. Ribeiro (1886) writes that a girl began early to produce the items necessary for her wedding trousseaux: embroidered and lace tablecloths, napkins, pillowcases, doilies, etc. "Nowadays," an Azorean migrant woman wrote to me in a letter, "the girls who can afford it buy many things like linens and dishes before marrying, but it is up to them." This reflects a trend common not only in the Azores, but in other regions where young women engage in paid employment before marriage, and thus have more money than free time to invest in their trousseaux (or dowry). Even in regions with a strong tradition of women's production of handicrafts, women are increasingly substituting commercially made items. Pavlides and Hesser (1986:89) found that the goods that constitute a woman's dowry in Greece include less handmade items than in the past.

A decline in skill and interest in handiwork among younger women is commented upon by older women, but they also say that learning the skills of weaving, embroidery, and crochet is not as vital as it was in the past.

Women now can buy either finished products . . . or materials that simplify their creation of dowry items.

In the Azores, a combination of factors has led to the decline in handicraft skills. Children who are occupied with schoolwork have less time to learn crafts from their mothers, and are distracted by other interests. As female children get older and go to school in the city, they sample a wider world of experience than did their mothers at the same age. They learn that women are no longer restricted to home handicraft making for income generation. Their orientation is routed out of the private sphere of "traditional" female occupations, toward the public sphere of urban wage labor. By the time that these wage working women are ready to accumulate their trousseaux, they are more likely to purchase goods with the cash that they earn than to spend the time making items by hand. Many women who are currently of marriageable age will not be deprived of the handmade cloths, lace and embroidered linens even if they refuse to make them themselves. Their mothers and grandmothers are still producing these beautiful, labor intensive items. However, as fewer women make the handicrafts, commercial machine-made, "modern-style" goods will have to be substituted. Relatives already informally help a woman in the collection of commercially made goods for her trousseaux. They tailor the birthday and Christmas gifts they give her to fit the items that she has made known that she wants. For example, among the birthday presents that Emília received in the last couple of years were many assorted pieces of pink glass dishware. She collected almost a complete set and kept these gifts packed away until her wedding.

Marriage Age and Family Size

Most weddings now take place when both the bride and the groom are between the ages of 20 and 24. In the next largest group of marriages, the bride is between the ages of 15 and 19, and the groom is in the older group, 20 to 24 (SREA 1986; SREA 1987). In contrast, many Azorean women who are in their 60s and 70s now did not get married until between ages 26 and 30. This is particularly the case with women who were the oldest female sibling. The oldest female child was the mother's primary helper and her labor was needed in the care of the younger children and for other household and agricultural tasks. In recent years, there has been a decreased need for young women's reproductive labor as the number of children in the household to care for is smaller, and some important aspects of household work are becoming less labor intensive.

Earlier marriage for women enables a longer married fertility period, but currently in the Azores this does not result in larger families. Although artificial birth control techniques are still deplored by the Church, many women feel that if "the Pill" is used within the structure of a faithful marriage, its use is not sinful. The birth control pill is available in pharmacies without a doctor's prescription. Other available methods are condoms, periodic hormonal injections and tubal ligation.

The average family size in the Azores is greater than that of continental Portugal, but it is smaller than in the Madeiran archipelago. In 1940, the average Azorean nuclear family unit size was eight people (Livi Bacci 1971). The average family size has decreased considerably since then, with 4.35 people per nuclear family in 1970, and 3.94 people per nuclear family in 1981 (Silva 1984). The changing Azorean pattern toward the investment of more resources in fewer children reflects conditions where

large numbers of children are no longer practical. Rural Azorean households continue to engage in subsistence production, agricultural production for exchange has moved from the cultivation of wheat, to the less labor intensive production of cattle. This coincides with conditions that commonly accompany development. Infant and child mortality decreases, young children's economic contribution to the household is reduced as they are required by the state to stay in school longer, and parents anticipate that through an investment in prolonged education, children will obtain jobs that afford them a higher social and economic status than they were born into (Minge-Klevana 1980; Rothstein 1986; Safa 1983). Adult, unmarried children contribute wages or goods to the household, but in many cases the money is not needed to maintain a subsistence level of existence, nor is it commonly turned into capital and used to initiate or expand petty commodity production. The contributions are largely used for the purchase of luxury items to improve the household's level of living. ✓

As more unmarried women enter the wage labor force, contributing cash or consumer goods to the household, the trend may reverse, with females marrying later once again. This has been seen in other developing regions. Currently, return migrants are significant among the group of women still unmarried in their late twenties and who have little hope of marriage on the islands. A comment made by Geraldina, a 26 year old return migrant on Faial, sums up her and her friends' attitudes:

At this point, there doesn't seem to be much chance of me getting married here. My grandmother married about my age, but these days I am considered almost too old. Anyway I wouldn't just marry anyone who came along, simply to be married. At another time I would have had to do that. But now it's different. I have my job, I don't have to worry about what I'm doing. You have to be

careful about who you marry here or you could get stuck in the house.

Their experience in North America has contributed to their reluctance to enter into a traditional Azorean marriage. Most of these return migrants have wage labor jobs, and their command of English gives them a positive edge in the competition for work. But they are restless with what the islands have to offer them, and they tend to change jobs frequently. Geraldina is a Canadian citizen, and is considering returning to Canada in order to have better job and/or marriage prospects. Not only return migrants are placing more emphasis on a job than on marriage and motherhood. As I discuss in the later chapters, young rural women are staying in school longer and interested in obtaining the skills to find paid employment before marriage. Women in their early twenties appear to be in no hurry to marry, and most of those who are currently employed plan on continuing to work after marriage. Working daughters are often relieved of many household tasks, and they come to expect that housework and other reproductive labor will be done in their absence by other female members of the household. At the same time, this situation worries the young women's grandmothers, who feel that their granddaughters will be inept in the roles of wife and mother.

Women in their late teens and early twenties complain that there are few men around with whom they would be interested in spending the rest of their lives. Due to the influence of education, the media, and contact with migrant relatives, Azorean women are beginning to have a broadened perspective of how they want to live their lives. However as is often the case, women's ideas about themselves are changing in advance of a real social transformation. State economic development plans are being bolstered by propaganda that is luring young women into the public sphere of waged

work, but the infrastructure has not been established to relieve women of the burden of reproductive labor. Azorean society has changed too much for women to aspire to the complementarity of function that their grandparents enjoyed in the peasant household. Many women currently of marriageable age have fathers who engage in wage labor and mothers who do not. These women can compare the character of their parents' relationship with that of their grandparents'. Frequently their mothers do not wield the same level of power in the household, nor feel the same degree of satisfaction as do their grandmothers. Many young women are choosing to respond to the conflicting private sphere pressures of marriage and motherhood and public sphere pressures of wage labor by actively preparing for and participating in the latter while postponing the former.

When women say that there is no one for them to marry, this is a matter of choice rather than demographics. The 1981 census reports that on both Faial and Pico, there were more males than females in almost all of the age groups within the common range of marriageable age.

Table 4.2
Population in Marriage Age Range, by Age Groups,
Sex and Civil Status, Pico, 1981

| | <u>15 - 19</u> | <u>20 - 24</u> | <u>25 - 29</u> |
|--------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Total Female | 605 | 476 | 417 |
| Total Male | 681 | 526 | 473 |
| Single Fem. | 522 | 148 | 55 |
| Single Male | 675 | 361 | 108 |
| Married Fem. | 82 | 324 | 354 |
| Married Male | 6 | 165 | 358 |

Note: Civil status categories that are not immediately pertinent here have been omitted from Tables 2 and 3; the sum of the two categories in each column thus do not equal the total.

Source: INE 1981:357

Table 4.3
Population in Marriage Age Range, by Age Group,
Sex and Civil Status, Faial, 1981

| | <u>15 - 19</u> | <u>20 - 24</u> | <u>25 - 29</u> |
|--------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Total Female | 632 | 538 | 446 |
| Total Male | 640 | 520 | 521 |
| Single Fem. | 538 | 190 | 52 |
| Single Male | 634 | 359 | 123 |
| Married Fem. | 93 | 328 | 382 |
| Married Male | 6 | 164 | 396 |

Source: INE 1981:355

In general, women get married younger than men. In the youngest group, there were significantly more married women than men, and in the middle group, married women exceeded married men by two to one. In the older group the rates became approximately equal, although there were still more single men on the islands than single women.

In the 1981 census, women who chose not to marry young or at all were not in the majority, and approximately 85% of the women under age 29 were married. However, the attitudes of the "modern" women are an indication of some changes since the census was taken, and point to a likely future trend in the Azores. Rural daughters working for wages is a recent pattern, having gradually become more common only within the last decade. More information must be gathered in the coming years as the Azorean economy continues to develop, to see what direction young women will actually take in terms of work and marriage.

The birth rate on Pico is the second lowest in the Azores, at 9.9%, while Faial has the second highest birth rate in the region, with 21.4% (DREPA

1984b).¹ The General Fertility Index in 1981 was 2.4 for Pico, 4.7 for Faial, and 9.0 for the Azores. All three indices fell between 1970 and 1981, but Pico's decrease was considerably larger than Faial's. The population of Pico decreased by almost 3000 inhabitants between 1970 and 1981, alone, which is more than twice the loss in population that Faial experienced in that period. Pico's accelerated population decrease was primarily due to the loss through migration of people of childbearing age.

Conclusion

Women's increased participation in the public sphere of prolonged schooling and wage work in the islands' small cities is changing the character of courtship in the Azores. It has not been the custom for Azorean villagers to congregate regularly in public places such as street corners, village squares or cafés, and most courtship was thus initiated within the formal atmosphere of periodic village dances and festivals. These festivals, which as I describe in Chapter 6, are quiet and subdued in character, and have functioned for the most part as places for young people to interact under the supervision of their elders. This formerly important function of village festivals is now becoming obsolete as young people meet regularly on their own in the relatively free atmosphere of the schools and city streets. Women are being inducted into the public sphere of activity when they choose to continue their schooling in

¹ The General Fertility Index (*Índice de Vitalidade*) is calculated as follows:

$$V = \frac{Tf \times Ia}{Tm \times Ie}$$

where:

Tf = fecundity rate

Tm = mortality rate

Ia = % of adults between ages 20 and 59 relative to the total population

Ie = relation between individuals 60 years and older and individuals between 0 and 19.

The higher the index, the higher the potential fertility of the population (DREPA 1984a:100).

the cities, and most plan to continue this participation with wage work after leaving school. These decisions are altering the gender and generational divisions of labor in the household, a subject which occurs throughout the remainder of the dissertation. In the next chapter I discuss the character, composition and formation of households, themselves, and begin an examination of women's domestic roles.

CHAPTER 5 HOUSEHOLDS, HOUSES AND HOUSEWORK

Introduction

This chapter places Azorean women in the context of their traditional and changing roles in the household. On an ideological level, the state and the Church perceive the private and public spheres as a distinct dichotomy, defining women's roles as confined to the domestic domain, and men's roles as public, economic actors. Inherent in this opposition is the ideological notion that men's public roles are more important, more essential, more highly regarded than women's private roles. This is not simply a male perspective. Women, themselves often tend to downplay their crucial part in the maintenance of the household: "I'm just a housewife." In this chapter I lay the basis for my continuing attempt in later chapters to show that this attitude is a recent phenomenon in Azorean history. As Kessler-Harris (1981) has written, women have always worked, and it is with the household's incorporation into wage labor that women's unpaid work in the house has come to be undervalued.

In Chapter 4, I examined the processes of courtship and marriage that lead to the creation of the conjugal group and the formation of households. In the following chapters I will explore women's varied social, religious and economic roles in Azorean society, their diverse contributions to the

maintenance of the rural household, and how and why women's domestic work is coming to be undervalued. Schmink (1984) and others have argued that the household is the mediating unit between the individual and the larger society, and it is to an examination of the household that I now turn. This chapter focuses on the domestic domain itself: its form and composition historically; the mechanisms by which households are established, expanded or contracted and dissolved; the work it takes to keep the domestic domain functioning; and the social linkages between households. I stress that these female-based social connections necessarily persist under the impact of modernization and the increasing privatization of households even as the social links between village men decrease in importance. Changes occurring in the household are both a reflection of and a response to changes in the broader society, and to understand the latter, it is important to first examine the household context.

Traditional Azorean society, as I discussed in Chapter 1, is oriented toward the private sphere, and women's private roles have thus taken on a high level of importance. In peasant households the private sphere is the locus of both production and reproduction, and the house and its environs--extending to the agricultural lands--were seen as one. A generally conceived gender and generational division of labor allocated particular activities to different people, and women's work days were arduous and long. But emotionally, the house itself did not encompass a separate sphere associated with the women. Men returned immediately after work in the fields to the house, to the kitchen, to their wives and family. And the men and women of the household viewed their combined efforts as the means by which they created a home and a life for themselves. "*Fazíamos a luta da vida* (Together

we made the fight for life)" claims one 64 year old woman on Pico about her relationship with her husband.

One group of feminist scholars believes that the only path to women's "liberation" is to release women from their imprisonment in the home--to facilitate their incorporation into the wage labor force. In the Azores today, albeit in the absence of any significantly overt feminist sentiment, young women are considering the benefits of taking such a route, if not indefinitely then at least for a prolonged period of time after leaving school. Young women see that the lives of their mothers and grandmothers have been dominated by incessant manual labor. Observers of nineteenth century Azores mention that a woman was "a hard-working drudge" (Taft 1923), and even today rural women are sometimes seen walking while their husbands ride, and carrying burdens as heavy or heavier than the men's.

However, subordination is a relative concept. It occurs in degrees, and is more or less prevalent under differing social, economic and political circumstances. The mothers and especially grandmothers of these wage-labor bound teenagers are energetic, self-assured women who have had considerable decision-making powers in the household and are proud if they are still healthy and strong enough to work. Most women over age 28 or 30, even if they now work outside the home, claim that they are glad to be mothers, and would not have even considered giving up their role in early childhood caregiving. "If you have no children," one 32 year old economically active mother on Faial warned me, "later you look behind you and you see nothing. No matter what else it is that you do in your life, if you do not have children, you see nothing." Why is this? Is it due to a passive subservience inherent in the female personality; helpless resignation in the face of unbeatable forces of domination; or possibly women have been

mystified and duped? All these explanations are found in the literature. But to label peasant women as unilaterally subordinated and to deny women the recognition that they have been active participants in the definition of their lives is to accept the dominant ideologies of the state and the Church without consideration for the relevance of these ideologies to local cultural interpretation.

Women have historically been unjustly excluded from the *publicly* prestigious sphere of public activity. However this is not to say that they have not gained prestige on the level that is meaningful to them and their family. Few Azorean villagers, either male or female, have achieved status or success on the public level until recent years. Thus, to claim that women's lives are not consequential until they are full participants in the public sphere, is to deny women their right to self-respect or to find meaning in their own lives. In defense of the recognition of women's private roles Jean Elshtain (1982:49) argues:

What all feminist protests that inveigh against women's continued identification with the private sphere share is the conviction that women's traditional identities were wholly forced upon them--that all women have been unwitting victims of deliberate exclusion from public life and forced imprisonment in private life. That is, women were not construed as agents and historic subjects who had, in their private identities as wives, mothers, and grandmothers, played vital and voluntary roles as neighbors, friends, social benefactors and responsible community members. . . . Holding up the public world as the only sphere within which individuals made real choices, exercised authentic power or had efficacious control, the private world, in turn, automatically reflected a tradition of powerlessness, necessity, and irrationality.

Elshtain argues for a perspective she calls "*social feminism*" that is cognizant of women's social roles, particularly those that are associated with the private

sphere. Similarly, Safa (1989) recognizes that while the family may be one locus of women's subordination, it is also an important source of social identity and emotional support. This continues even after married women engage in wage labor due to the unsatisfying nature of much of the employment that women receive. The positive aspects of family relationships are all too often lost in the analysis.

Since the 1974 revolution the Azores has been in a period of transition where women's private and public roles are being reevaluated and redefined. In order to understand how women's private, reproductive roles affect their incorporation into the public sphere of prolonged schooling and work, and conversely, how women's participation in the public sphere is affecting their domestic roles and household dynamics, it is necessary to establish the nature of the Azorean household and housework, and the mechanisms by which households are created and dissolved. Inherent in such a discussion is an analysis of household composition, and the relations of household members among each other and in other households. I begin with a definition of household for the Azorean case, and continue with an historical discussion of the Azorean house. Later sections develop the idea of the linkages between households of close kinship relations--forming household groups--and the continuing necessity of maintaining these linkages as women's roles increasingly expand into the public sphere.

The Azorean Household: Composition and Obligations

The Household

The household in the Azores is a locus of labor allocation, although the nature of both reproductive and productive labor is changing with

increased participation in wage labor. Income is not always pooled, but each adult member of the household contributes to the maintenance of the household through some combination of domestic labor, agricultural work, cash contributions and the purchase of goods. The household is a consumption unit in that agricultural produce and many material goods are arrived at and consumed communally. The unit that I will call the Azorean household, then, is similar to Schmink's (1984:89) usage of the term: "the household . . . refers to a coresident group of persons who share most aspects of consumption, drawing on and allocating a common pool of resources (including labor) to ensure their material reproduction."

A persistent problem in household analysis is how to define the boundaries of the household. Where Schmink's definition is based on coresidence and economic relationships, K. Friedman (1984:46) proposes an alternative definition that is based on a network of social relationships. Friedman sees a household simply as a set of relations that imposes sharing obligations between people. While a definition that eschews all boundaries is of limited use for analysis, Friedman's extreme formulation of the household concept facilitates a definition of the private sphere that is not dependent on the delimited space of the house, and it underscores the importance of ties of reciprocity within a whole network of social relations that range from inside the island village to the migrant communities outside of Portugal.

Household Composition: Recent Trends

The Azorean household consists of coresident, consanguineal and affinal relatives, who are obligated to contribute their labor, cash earnings or material goods toward the maintenance of the household. In the Azores, households are virtually always based on kinship, as it is not the norm to take

non-kin into the house. Since many young couples have not had the means to acquire their own houses, there is a tradition in rural villages of three generations living under one roof (see Figure 5.1 below). A newly married couple often takes up residence in the house of one of the spouses' parents. The composition of the household likely includes a senior generation of the spouse's parents and one or more unmarried aunts and/or uncles; an intermediate generation of the couple and the spouse's unmarried siblings; and the junior generation of the couple's children. Rarely does more than one married child live in the parents' house. Household types on Faial and Pico are consistent with the patterns in the Azores as a whole. Figures 5.1 through 5.6 illustrate that the most common household type on both Faial and Pico consists of three or more adults with one or more children under fifteen years of age. This type occurs in half the Faial households with children, and 57% of the Pico households with children. This reflects both the Azorean pattern of multigenerational households, and the responsibility Azoreans take for caring for elderly and handicapped adults in the house. The next most common household type consists of three or more adults with no resident children. On both islands this type makes up about one third of all childless households, and on Pico it is almost as prevalent as households with three or more adults and children. This reflects Pico's more aged population, a subject I discuss in a later section. The third most common household type consists of two adults, one or both of whom are over 65 years old (INE 1981:193-194). This type results from any of three different situations: the outmigration of a couples' children while the parents remain on the islands; the return migration of the parents while the children remain in the migrant community; and most recently, the married children setting up their own household in a separate house near the parents.

Households consisting of only one male adult and young children are rare. On Pico there are 3, and on Faial, 2. When a couple who had been living neolocally legally separates or divorces, the spouse who keeps the children is awarded the house. Usually it is the woman who remains with the children, but if she does not, she is greatly disparaged by the other female villagers. It is an unusual situation, but it happens. In Praia das Pedras on Faial one woman's irresponsible behavior convinced a judge to award her three children to the father. In Santarosa on Pico, one woman abandoned her husband and houseful of young and mentally retarded children. She went to live with another man in the town seven kilometers away, taking only her one year old baby with her. Both cases exemplify unusual circumstances where neither the husband nor the wife had family in the village.

Households consisting of one female adult and one or more children under the age of fifteen are also not numerous, but they are more common than households without any adult women. On Pico there are 8 households of this type and on Faial there are 29. The statistics are slightly misleading, because they do not take into account the entirety of the household's close relationships, such as if the household is integrally related with others nearby. This would make a considerable difference to the mother, who could then rely on other women for help with certain essential reproductive tasks, like child care.

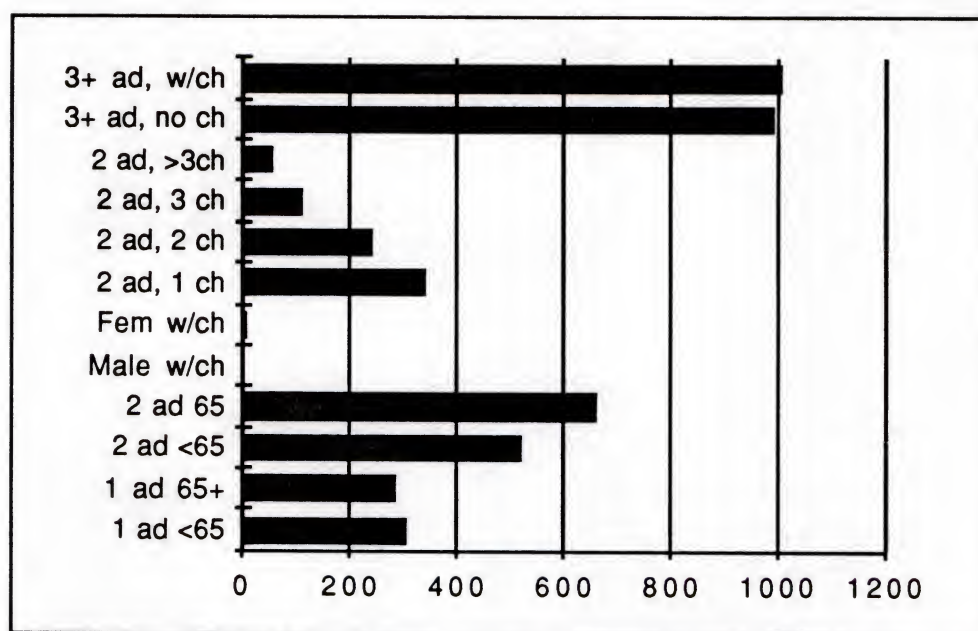


Figure 5.1
Number of Households by Composition, Pico, 1981

Source: INE 1981:194

Note: The abbreviations used in Figures 1 through 6 are as follows: 'ad' means adults; '3+' means 3 or more; 'ch' means children; 'w/ch' means with children; '>3' means more than three; '<65' means under age 65; '65+' means age 65 or older; '2 ad 65' means 2 adults, one or both of whom are at least 65 years old.

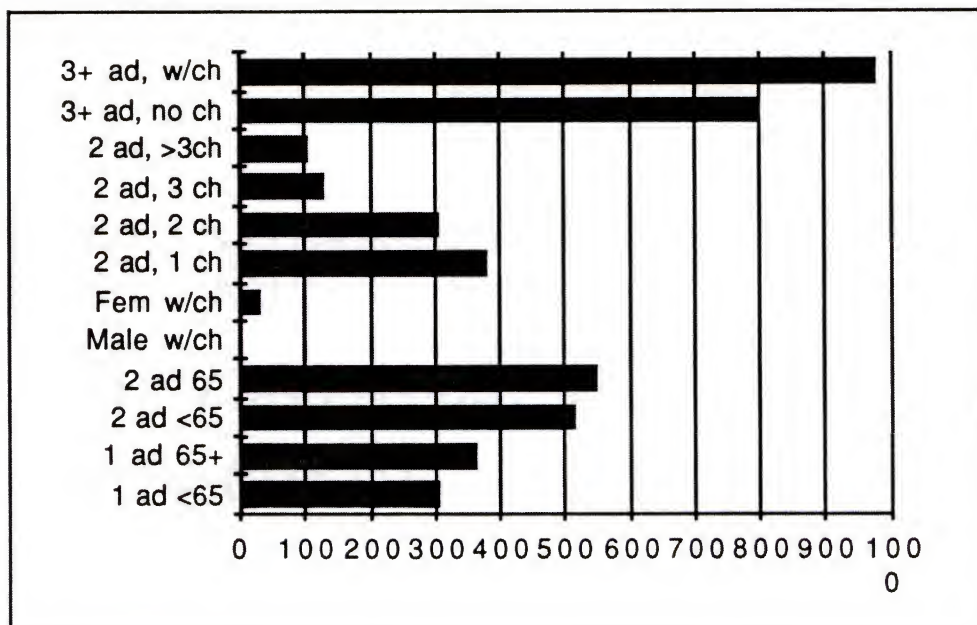


Figure 5.2
 Number of Households by Composition, Faial, 1981
 Source: INE 1981:193

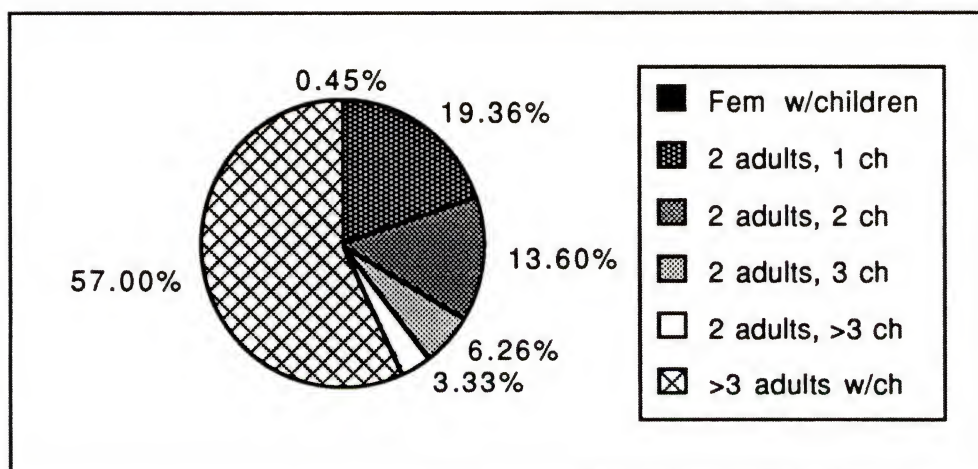


Figure 5.3
 Households with Children, by Composition, Pico, 1981
 Source: INE 1981:194

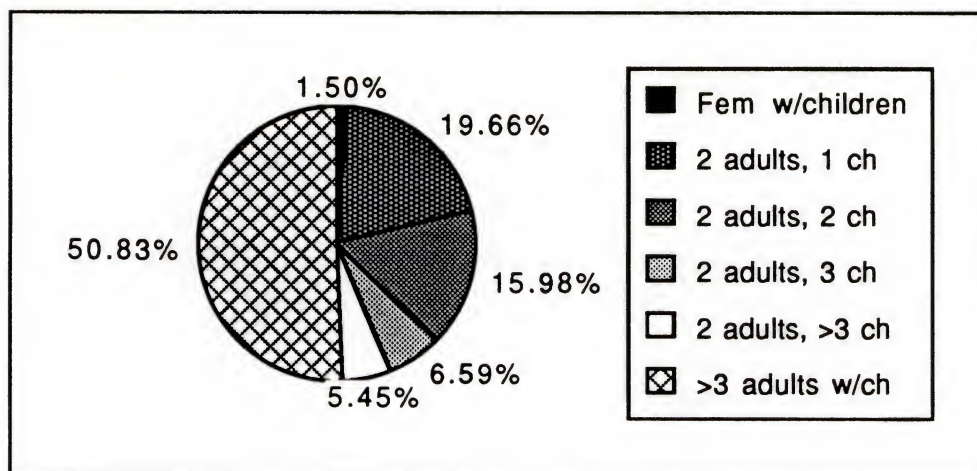


Figure 5.4
Households with Children, by Composition, Faial, 1981

Source: INE 1981:193

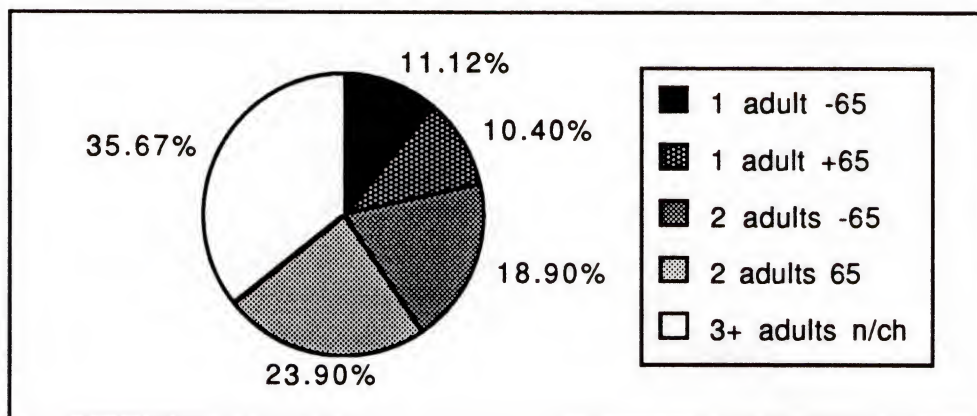


Figure 5.5
Households Without Children, by Composition, Pico, 1981

Source: INE 1981:194

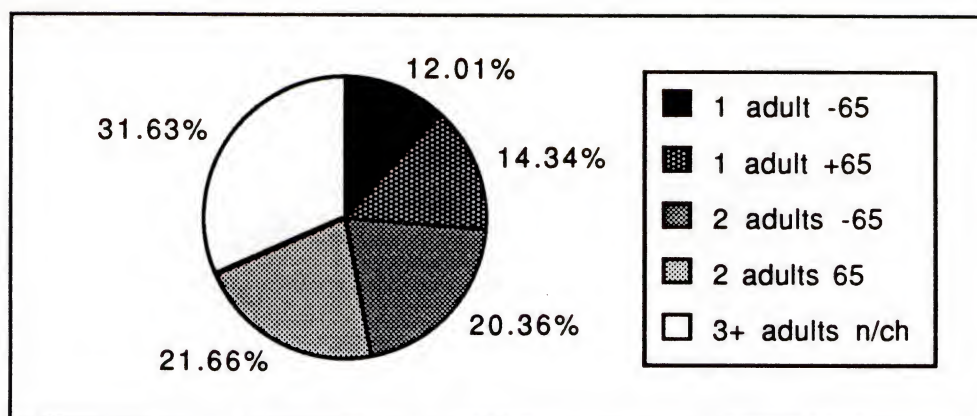


Figure 5.6
Households Without Children, by Composition, Faial, 1981

Source: INE 1981:193

The Azorean House up to the 1974 Revolution

"*Quem casa, quer casa*" (Whoever marries, wants a house), a frequently quoted pun in the Portuguese and Spanish social science literature, is used to express the ideal of autonomous neolocal residence. For the Azores, it also reflects the desire to establish a nuclear family residence, but one located near other close relatives rather than completely independent. Historically in the Azorean peasant economy, cash income was scarce and reciprocal exchanges of labor and goods was common. Members of the extended family as well as neighbors would donate their time and small amounts of construction materials little by little so a newly married couple could begin to build their house. The house was built on the land of one of the spouse's parents, near the parents' own house. The Bullar brothers (Bullar and Bullar 1841) noted in their travels through the islands in 1838-39 that many people were renting their houses. Da Silva Ribeiro (1948), writing about the island of Terceira in the early to mid 1900s, maintains that by 1908 most islanders were building houses with the method of community reciprocity, and few islanders were

still renting their homes. The acquisition of construction materials required more labor than cash--floors were hard packed dirt strewn with straw, volcanic stone made the walls, and straw covered the roof. Later, red clay tiles replaced the straw and these had to be purchased. Prior to the twentieth century, rural houses were usually only two rooms. When resources were available, another small structure was built near the house as a kitchen. Since the straw roofed houses had no chimneys, the separate kitchen was desirable to prolong the life of the roof (de Brum Ferreira 1987). The simplicity of design and availability of materials meant that despite the centuries of impoverishment suffered by most Azorean peasantry, the communal system described by da Silva Ribeiro allowed the community to frequently meet the ideal of providing a newly wed couple with a house of their own.

Nineteenth century travel writers provide vivid descriptions of the conditions under which they *perceived* Azoreans to be living at the time. Following are two samples that Taft (1923) cites in a summary of these observations. Weston, who traveled to the islands in the 1850s wrote of

a peasantry living in miserable houses made of the rudest-shaped stones, with roof thatched with straw and leaves covered with mud, having neither windows, floors nor furniture; and with pigs, hens and people sharing the same room. (Weston, cited in Taft 1923:69)

In the 1880s Miss Baker gave this assessment of the peasant house on Faial:

The interiors are bare and poor: one room; rafters visible above; a floor of earth; woven work of willow boughs sometimes partitioning off one end of the room as a bedroom. There is neither chimney nor stove. (Baker, cited in Taft 1923:68)

It must be noted that these travelers from the northeastern United States recorded their observations through the thick lenses of their own

ethnocentrism about the "backwardness" of other countries. However, as Hanawalt (1986) argues for medieval England, one cannot make accurate judgements about the peasant household from superficial appearances. After describing in detail the multitude of daily tasks that a woman was responsible for, Hanawalt notes that housecleaning was not a woman's primary task. She emphasizes that this was due to the nature of the houses and their furnishings, not, as has been more popularly argued, due to low moral and hygienic standards among the women.

Cleaning house would occupy very little of a woman's time. The houses were usually one story and had two or three rooms. Furniture was rudimentary. . . . The floors were covered with straw, and chickens, pigs, cats and dogs wandered in and out at will. The peasants owned few pans and dishes. . . . But the sparsity of furnishings and the straw on the floor should not lead one to conclude that the housewives were slovenly and cared nothing about cleanliness. Archaeological evidence has shown that the floors were swept frequently enough that the brooms left u-shaped depressions on the floors. But the standards for a well-kept house were hardly the same as ours, provided as we are with a multitude of "time-saving" products to keep our houses spotless, so that housecleaning was not a major consumer of women's work time. (Hanawalt 1986:9-10)

Whether animals lived in the same rooms as people in the majority of Azorean houses is difficult to say. However, by the twentieth century, the external *loja* was commonly built near the house to shelter animals, the woven-bough ox cart and agricultural implements and produce. Today, even the oldest, simplest houses are flanked by at least one of these stone *lojas*. In the eighteenth century, the red clay tiles typical of the Mediterranean regions began to replace the straw roofing, and by the twentieth century tiles covered

most of the houses and *lojas*, and many houses had glassed windows.¹ The custom of building a separate kitchen whenever possible remains to this day, although the reasons have changed historically. Through the 1800s most rural as well as urban houses lacked chimneys,² and many rural houses did not add chimneys until relatively recently. On Pico, for instance, it was not until migrants' remittances began arriving in strength in the mid 1950s that many Azoreans were able to have a chimney built onto their house. A chimney-less kitchen attached to the house meant that the entire house and all of its contents and inhabitants were enveloped in smoke from the cooking fires. Yet, most households had to suffer this inconvenience. Only in recent years has it again become common for people to build separate kitchens near their houses when they are in the process of a general renovation. As I discuss in Chapter 7 in the context of breadbaking, construction of a new, separate kitchen to house the traditional bread oven has become a status symbol for elderly, rural Azoreans.

The typical rural Azorean house of old is built in one of two forms: single story rectangular or two stories rectangular. The two level house has living quarters on top, with a *loja* underneath. Both types are built from the islands' volcanic rock. Most are smoothed with whitened clay on the internal walls, and many are covered on the exterior as well. These days, most of the dirt floors have been replaced with wood planks, and many kitchen floors are

¹ De Brum Ferriera (1987) writes that he knows of no document that accurately describes the Azorean houses of earlier centuries, but that in 1967 there were elderly people on the island of Graciosa who remembered houses covered in straw when they were young. Today, one house remains on Faial with a straw roof, and the owner receives an "historic preservation" subsidy from the regional government to keep it in good shape.

² The Bullars (1841) noted that the houses in Faial's city, Horta were without chimneys, and photographs from a later period in the Lajes Whaling Museum on Pico showed both rural and urban houses without chimneys.

also covered in vinyl linoleum. This and other modern renovations such as double "Dutch" doors and aluminum-framed glass windows have made a tremendous difference in the level of housework required to keep a house clean. One 70 year old return migrant on Faial explained that when she left the Azores to go work in the factories of New Bedford the lifestyle on the islands was "dirty, everything--dirt floors, dirt roads, dirt that came in from the fields." She said that while they did not have all the soaps and other means available today to clean a house, they always tried to keep it as clean as possible. But it was a constant battle with the dust and dirt. When she returned thirteen years later she and her family had saved enough money to renovate their home. Their new kitchen is a facsimile of a modern North American kitchen with electric appliances, wood cabinets, formica counter tops, etc. "Now," she told me, "we live cleanly like over there [in New Bedford]." Even so, the most prevalent complaint about housework heard from women particularly on Faial is the continual presence of dirt and dust that accumulates in the house each day. "Dust, there's always dust. Get rid of it today, and it's back again tomorrow!", another elderly woman told me in exasperation, as she glanced around what appeared to be a spotless kitchen. The problem also exists on Pico, but many houses are built on a rocky, mossy plot that does not send as much dust into the house. It is partly due to the extreme dust problem that doors and windows remain closed and shuttered, thus reinforcing the sense of *fechado*, closedness that characterizes Azorean villages.

The Azorean Household and Housework Obligations: Changes since the Revolution

The Azorean household is based on coresidence, but it does not function as a discrete, bounded unit within the confines of the house. Increasingly, the household is becoming a subunit of a family *household group*. Since the revolution, the availability of governmental housing subsidies and savings from wage labor jobs are making it more common for young married couples to build their own house on land given to them by one of the spouse's parents. The subsidies are only for construction, so most couples build their home in the vicinity of one of the spouse's parents. This is a practical move for two reasons: The developing tourist industry and the settlement of non-Azoreans on the islands is driving up land prices, thus making land too expensive for most young couples to purchase. If land is given to one of the spouses at marriage as part of the inheritance he or she would have later received, then the couple has land on which to build and their savings are available for the actual construction. The other factor that encourages young couples to build their houses on family land is that proximity to kin facilitates the establishment of an arrangement of sharing obligations similar to those engaged in by members of the same household. The couple has the advantages inherent in living in their own house, and they retain most of the benefits of multigenerational residence. While the couple establishes their own household in a separate residential unit, they are part of the household group that comprises the new household, the parents' household, and the households of any other siblings who live close by on the family land. Proximate family households are integrally tied to each other through sharing obligations that vary according to the particular economic circumstances of the members, but the survival of any one household in the

group would be precarious without its relationship with the others in the household group.

The obligations within the household group are stronger than those between extended family households that are external to the group. The households in the group cooperate in the cultivation of corn and other vegetables on the family land, and they rear chickens, a pig and sometimes a cow for communal consumption. Men who engage in wage labor do agricultural work on the weekends and if necessary during peak periods of labor need, in the evenings also. Most households have a large percentage of their land in pasturage. The cattle are not always owned communally by the member households, but they are often tended communally. It is usually men of the senior generation who tend to the daily care of the cattle. Periodically the cattle must be moved a considerable distance from one pasturage to another, and three or four members of the household group participate in the task.

Domestic labor encompasses a wide range of activities that tie the households of the group together. For example, baking the weekly cornbread is usually done by only one woman in the household group, generally a woman of the senior generation. Few members of the intermediate generation are willing to bake in the traditional ovens. On the other hand, it is most often the intermediate generation who acquires modern appliances such as a washing machine or a minitractor, and a daughter-in-law may wash the laundry for her mother-in-law, and a son will plow all the fields. Childcare is an essential collaborative activity of the household group. In Azorean peasant households in the past, older female children were responsible for the care of younger siblings, and they also participated heavily in all aspects of domestic labor. When their mothers were periodically absent

from the home, such as when they went to the fields with their husband's mid-day meal, or the full day a week they spent near the coast at the public well doing laundry, the older daughters replaced their mothers in the household chores. With the extension of obligatory schooling until the child is at least fourteen years old, and with many children staying in school longer than that, older daughters are no longer available to help their mothers as much as they were in the past. Thus, even with the trend toward fewer children in the family, early childcare and other domestic responsibilities remain high for household adult women.

Mothers who work outside the home typically experience a "double day," even if other women in the household help with the daily domestic tasks. However since the mother is out of the house all day, the other women in the household must assume responsibility for child care. This burden generally falls upon the elderly grandmothers. The state has not provided the childcare centers that it promised after the revolution, and when grandmothers remain the primary caretakers of children of working mothers, this relieves the financial burden of the state. Children freely roam between the houses in their household group, even when their mothers are occupied by work at home.

Sharing obligations in the Azores also go beyond the household group to the extended family. The extended family are the relatives who are not coresident in the household or household group, regardless of the degree of relatedness. The extended family has always been extremely important for reciprocal labor obligations, such as for the building of a house or the slaughtering of a pig. However, with increasing participation in wage labor and the growing uses for a cash income, households are becoming more individualized in orientation, and relations of reciprocity still exist, but in

diminished form. Unlike in the past, they now rarely include nonkin. People have little time to spare for reciprocal obligations, and for the activities that still require the donated labor of nonhousehold members, the entire breadth of the extended family is even more important than ever. Since each individual has less time to contribute to any one given activity, more people must be mobilized, each for short periods of time. Childcare, as a daily need, is less often provided by a member of the extended family than by a member of the household group. However, if there is no one else available, a woman from the extended family can be called upon at least occasionally.

Migrants also constitute essential links in the extended family. Migrants send back remittances in the form of cash and goods to their relatives in the Azores, and allow family members to live in their vacant houses and use their land without paying rent. In turn, kin on the islands take care of the migrants' house and land. When necessary they make repairs or construct improvements on the house in the migrant's absence, and they plant a field of vegetables for the migrant family's use upon their return.

Housework Goals and Performance Obligations

Most older Azorean women are energetic housekeepers, despite their complaints about the magnitude and never-ending nature of the work. They take pride in the order and cleanliness of their houses, particularly because cleanliness is so much more easily facilitated now than when they were young. Younger married women whose husbands do wage labor are also highly concerned about the state of their homes. The high standards of cleanliness that they uphold are not necessarily self-generated since their husbands and the elder female members of their families set the standards for them. As I discuss in chapters 1, 7 and 8, women who do not work outside

the house but whose husbands do wage labor, no longer experience the complementarity of roles that existed in many peasant households. These women may actually be working harder and longer hours than they had in the past due to their need to make up for the lost household labor of their wage working husbands and children in school (Minge-Kalman 1978). Nevertheless, their husbands' work takes on more importance and status than their own unpaid work due to the wage that is exchanged for their husbands' labor. Younger married women who do not work outside the home are seen as having a fairly leisurely day at home, and an unkempt house is inexcusable. These wives feel continual pressure to prove their worth to their husbands by being better and better housekeepers. The women's identities and source of pride come to reside in their ability to keep a perfect house. This is partly facilitated by the acquisition of modern appliances that make cleaning easier, like clothes washing machines. The new appliances lighten the particular task that they are designed for, and they confer prestige on the woman among her neighbors. Yet women who can convince their husbands to purchase such housekeeping aids as a washing machine, find that they still arrive at the end of the day with no time to spare. Studies of housework in varying locales have uncovered the irony of so-called "labor-saving devices" (Margolis 1984; Oakley 1974, 1976): modern conveniences do not necessarily lighten the total housekeeping load. Rather, standards of cleanliness and order are set increasingly higher. As one 62 year old woman on Faial said:

Life used to be harder because we didn't have any of these machines. But at the same time everything was simpler then. We had fewer rooms, less furniture to keep up. We had less varied food, and made simpler meals. We had

more free time then--which we filled by making lace for sale. Now there's no time to make the really nice lace.

Thus, despite the reality that the magnitude of housework expands to fill the day, the importance of women's housework is diminished when the husband engages in wage labor. And when women use these supposedly labor saving devices, husbands feel justified in their (erroneous) idea that their wives sit around gossiping all day.

Lamphere (1974) notes that conflicts are common among co-resident women of different generations, and in the Azores, elderly women in the household or household group may exacerbate the problems younger women have with their husbands. For example, Gonçalves, a wage worker, insists that his wife Lucia stay in the house as much of the time as possible and concern herself with the housework, the cooking and their two children. Lucia had been attending sewing classes two afternoons a week that were taught in the village through the Continuing Education program, but after going to the classes for a year Gonçalves forbade Lucia to continue. He and his mother--who lives in the next house--felt that Lucia had already learned all that she was capable of learning, and that further absence from the house to attend the classes was not justified. Lucia had benefited in a number of ways from the classes. She had gotten satisfaction out of learning to make clothing for herself and her children that Gonçalves could not afford to buy; she was glad to have a reason to get out of the house, away from the domineering presence of her mother-in-law; and she enjoyed spending time in the company of other women. Despite her disappointment, Lucia had to abide by the dictates of her husband and mother-in-law and stay away from the afternoon classes.

On a different issue related to Lucia's performance of housework Lucia had more success. After a long period of denying Lucia's request for a

washing machine, Gonçalo recently relented and brought a small one home as a surprise. Lucia is exceptionally proud of the machine, and pleased that she no longer has to scrub the clothes by hand with harsh soap in cold water. However, now Gonçalo says that Lucia hardly does any work in the house. And making the situation more difficult, Gonçalo's mother insists that the clothes do not get nearly as clean as they do when they are handwashed. Lucia's mother-in-law's claims effectively undermine Lucia's housekeeping abilities, and fuel Gonçalo's case against his wife. In reality, Lucia's position in the household appears to have weakened and yet she is still busy in the house from morning to night--the time saved in clotheswashing is simply devoted to another household task.

The lives of Azorean wives of wage laborers, then, have been altered but not necessarily eased due to the purchase of modern housekeeping devices. This is partially reminiscent of the conditions that sparked the "domestic science" movement and adherence to a "domestic code" in the United States at the end of the nineteenth century.¹ Since wages were being used to purchase many items that were formerly produced in the home, women's domestic work was perceived to have been "dangerously" reduced. "The movement set out to preserve the home by teaching 'right living.' As it made the housewife's labor purposeful, so it would prevent her from seeking

¹ The term "domestic code" refers to the ideology prevalent in the United States from the early 1800s through the 1950s that promoted the ideal notion that "women's place is in the home." The far reaching affects of such an ideological standard fostered women's dependence on men in the family, justified women's restriction to the domestic sphere, and legitimized the low wages paid and dead-end jobs available to women who violated the code and went to work outside the home. Alice Kessler-Harris has written extensively about the domestic code in the United States (Kessler-Harris 1981, 1982; Kessler-Harris and Sacks 1987). Maxine Margolis (1984) examines the conditions under which American women's domestic roles have changed. C. Rock, S. Torre and G. Wright (1980) explore women's domestic labor in regard to changing house designs.

gratification outside the home" (Kessler-Harris 1981:43). No such overt movement exists at this time in the Azores, and the households even of wage workers remain to some extent sites of production for both food and many material goods. Yet, women who do not work outside the house, and who are of an age to be caught between the old and the new, or the traditional and the modern are in a similar vein searching for ways to legitimize the work they do in the home.

As I discuss in detail in Chapter 3, during the nineteenth century in Portugal the growing influence of the republicans promoted a version of a "domestic code" that emphasized the education of women to make them better equipped for their domestic roles. At that time those ideas had little relevance in the Azorean peasant household. Now, a domestic code is in full bloom in the strata of Azorean households where the husbands do wage labor and their wives do not. The code is complete with the ideology of the wife as the mistress of modern home technology and the husband as wage earner and ruler of the household. Men in these households hold the opinion that their wage labor should support the entire household, that their wives should remain secluded in the house, and that their wage heavily overrides women's housework in terms of each's contribution to household maintenance. This stage may persist for the households that are now in it, but it is a transitional stage for the Azores as a whole that will probably not last nearly as long as it did in the United States. The Portuguese state has extensive economic development plans for the Azores, and the state is encouraging women to follow men into the public sphere of wage labor. This, combined with the growing need for more than one wage income per household in order to afford the luxuries that are rapidly becoming necessities, means that many young unmarried women are not likely to enter

into a marriage where their primary activities are house-bound reproductive labor. However the ideology of equality promulgated by the postrevolutionary governments is not backed up with the appropriate infrastructure for a sufficient wage scale and socialized reproduction, so a crucial element of the domestic code is implicitly carried on: state legislation and propaganda highlight the family as the most important social unit, and maintain that no matter what else women do, it is women's responsibility to ensure the reproduction of the family.

Younger mothers who engage in paid employment outside the home, then, face the conflicts inherent in their two opposing roles. They bring home a wage (often lower than that of their husbands') and they are also responsible for maintaining a clean, orderly household. These women have a difficult time living up to the ideals of their elders. Some have internalized their elders' criticism, and say "I cannot keep the house as well as I would like to." Others, who wish that their husbands would help more with the housework phrase it slightly differently: "I cannot keep the house as well as others do," or even, ". . . as well as others think I should."

Lamphere (1987) found that among Azorean migrants in the northeastern United States where both the husband and wife worked at wage labor jobs, the division of labor in the household changed only slightly. Women continue to be responsible for most of the reproductive labor, particularly housework. Husbands and wives often work different shifts so that the father can share in childcare, however fewer husbands are willing to take on housework chores. On the Azores Islands, when both spouses work outside the home, husbands are also beginning to assume responsibility for some household tasks such as childcare and less often, cooking and laundry.

Men's work in the house is seen as optional help to their wives rather than obligatory. One woman explained:

My husband only helps when he wants to, and he only does the things that he likes. If he wants to sit and read the newspaper or watch television when he comes home from work he can do so. I have to be busy cooking, cleaning, doing the laundry. And I get up early to do housework before I go to work. He does not have to do these things.

However in many households, the men still do not participate in reproductive work at all. In some multi-generational households more than one woman shares the work, but if the elderly women are ill or otherwise unable to work, the burden of domestic work for the entire household falls on the young mother. One 27 year old woman who works part-time outside the home and lives with her elderly in-laws complains that although she is grateful that she and her family have a nice house to live in, she is burdened with a disproportionate share of the housework. She cooks for the entire household and does most of the cleaning and laundry as well. Although she and her husband would like additional income for lifestyle improvements, she could not work full time and complete all the household tasks as well.

Many women who work in the Horta fish processing factory¹ come from completely proletarianized households. Many of these women have husbands who also engage in wage labor, most often construction work, and many do not grow corn or any other crop in abundance for household consumption. These women have less education than do those who work in the tertiary sector, and many were domestic servants before entering the factory. It is not unusual to find mothers and daughters working side by side

¹ I discuss the circumstances of women's work in the fish processing factories in greater detail in Chapter 8.

in the factory. Some of these women are brought to work by their husbands on motorcycles or in pickup trucks, but most take the early morning bus from their village. They must rise by 5:00 am in order to cook the meal that they and their husbands and other members of the household take with them to work and eat when they return. Since the bus routes are circuitous and slow, many do not arrive home until 7:00 pm or later, so much of the housecleaning and laundry must also be done in the early hours of the morning. Those who live in a household with other women may have a lighter domestic load, but the men in these households generally do not help with household tasks.

Unmarried daughters who engage in wage labor are often allowed a lighter housework burden than they would normally have if they did not work outside of the house. Some are relieved of housework responsibilities altogether, with the loss in their labor for such work picked up by the other women in their household. These unmarried daughters are in a position to take the extreme cleanliness of their homes for granted, seemingly unaware of how much work it takes their mothers and grandmothers or other female household members to keep the house and its contents in good condition. These women may in a vague, abstract way hold the same ideal as their elders about cleanliness and order, but they are not developing the commitment to producing the effect with their own labor. If these young women marry and form their own household, they will have to learn to reconcile housework with wage labor. If they join an established household, other women will be available to share the burden. However, the young woman's new status as a wife in a multi-generational household often changes her position in that household so that she is expected to take on more domestic responsibility. Also, the presence of modern technology in the household tends to

complicate household relations. For example, when Luísa, a 25-year old woman who works in a small store on Faial married, the couple moved in with the husband's aunt and uncle who had extra room in their house. However the arrangement did not work out due to the continual disputes that arose particularly concerning the division of household labor between the women and the use of the household's recently purchased automobile. When Luísa became pregnant, they realized that they could not continue to live with the aunt and uncle, as relations had become too tense. They moved into the husband's parents' crowded home while they apply for a construction subsidy to begin building their own house on land given to them by Luísa's parents. Luísa plans to resume working when the baby is one year old, and she will have to depend on her mother for daily childcare.

The Azorean House: The Use of Space

Organization of Space: Separate Spheres *within* the Household

Azorean dwellings, whether the simple, one story houses, the two level houses, or the more modern, recently built concrete houses, contain sections that are associated with different functions, and differing degrees of privacy. A typical dwelling is an approximately 36 foot long, rectangular house made of two-foot thick volcanic stone walls, roofed with red clay tiles, and divided internally by cloth curtains or thin wood planks into two, three or four walk-through rooms. The oldest, poorest houses have only two rooms--a kitchen and a sleeping/living room. Houses with more rooms have the kitchen on one end, with the remaining rooms used primarily as bedrooms. Depending on the composition of the household, if the front room is not needed for sleeping, it is arranged as a parlor and is rarely entered. Ideally, the kitchen is the room furthest from the street.

The kitchen as a family center

In the Azorean house, the kitchen has traditionally been the informal gathering place for the family. Unlike elsewhere in Iberia, the fact that the kitchen contains the hearth does not account for its focality. Azorean houses have no fireplaces for the purpose of heating, and fires are lit in the great bread ovens only while they are in use for baking, which is normally at a time when male members are not present in the house. Cooking fires built on the stone shelf in front of the oven also remain lit only when necessary for cooking. Nevertheless, the kitchen is where the family eats its meals, and where the men have traditionally returned to after a day's work. In the past, when the peasant husband came back from the fields in the late afternoon, he would sit in the kitchen with his wife while she sat by the dying light of the window making lace for sale, or sewing and crocheting for household use. Today it is mostly the elderly who continue this pattern as younger husbands have wage labor jobs and return home after 6 pm when the television programs are just beginning. The women sit alone by the window now, still busy making warm handmade sweaters to protect their families from the chilly, damp winter weather. Their husbands' wages are not nearly sufficient to purchase these items in the stores.

Except during celebrations, meals in the Azores have not traditionally been communal, family activities. Breakfast does not cause a woman much work as it is simply a bowl of cornmeal porridge, *papas*, or a regional favorite--wheat bread soaked in milk, *pão de leite*. In the past women had to bake this white wheat bread in their homes, but now home baking is limited to cornbread and sweetbread, as wheat bread is baked commercially and delivered daily to the door. The mid-day meal is the largest of the day. The

heavy cornbread provides the most filling aspect, and the main dish may be stewed beef or pork, or locally caught bottom fish. Azoreans claim that they do not like fresh vegetables, and when eaten, vegetables usually consist of squash, white potatoes, sweet potatoes, kale, carrots, onions and beans that are cooked into the soups and stews. Taro root (*inhame*) is boiled and eaten plain as a side dish. Elderly villagers say that during the Salazar years, which was in many respects similar to the centuries prior to the dictatorship, meat was not nearly as available as it is now, and all three meals often consisted of *papas*, *pão de leite*, or a bowl of kale. Fish, on the other hand, was easier to get and very inexpensive. Men regularly came through the villages selling fish from baskets that they carried over their shoulders on long poles. These days most fish caught in Azorean waters is exported to Lisbon and internationally, and villagers eat much less fish than before. According to law, fish must be sold through regular state-controlled channels, but individual fishermen sometimes bring home fish to sell to their neighbors. João, a highly capitalized fisherman on Faial who owns his own boat, sells his catch of steak fish to exporters, but his wife Victoria keeps a deep freezer in the house full of the less lucrative bottom fish that he also catches. Few non-fishing households eat fish regularly, but when neighbors want fish for a meal, they know they can buy it from Victoria any time of the day.

The meat that villagers eat comes from the pigs and sometimes cows that most households raise for slaughter and home consumption. More and more households now own deep freezers, which has radically altered the pattern of meat preservation and consumption in the villages. Salting is no longer necessary in these households, and when they slaughter a pig and maybe a cow once a year they have fresh/frozen meat and sausage

throughout the year.¹ In recent years, women who work outside the home try to cook the next day's lunch the night before. And many women who now have refrigerators, including those who do not engage in paid employment, prepare enough of the meal to last for two days. The most labor intensive part of Azorean cooking has always been the gathering and chopping of firewood, building the fire, and raising the animals and vegetables and preserving the meat. Now only the poorest households do not have at least a gas burner if not an entire gas stove, many have a refrigerator, and the preparation for cooking has been reduced considerably. Azorean cuisine consists of a small number of recipes, many of which utilize a single pot. Dessert consists of rice pudding, custards, or the seasonally made sweet bread and other non-iced cakes.

In the past the men ate the mid-day meal in the field. Now agriculture does not require the men's continued presence in the field all day, and they can return home for lunch. Conversely, most wage workers use the public bus system and so find it impossible to return from the city to the village for lunch, even though the mid-day break is about two hours long. Rural men take their lunch with them to work. The three levels of schooling let out at different times, and only the primary schools are located in the village and break at the traditional lunch time. Older children must wait for the afternoon bus, and usually return home sometime between 2 and 6 pm. The evening meal in years past was simple and small, and today it remains much the same: younger adults now eat a small portion of leftovers from the lunch stew or soup, but the elderly and children simply have a piece of cornbread

¹ The pig slaughter (*matança do porco*) and patterns of meat preservation, sharing and consumption is discussed in further detail in Chapter 7.

and cheese or a bowl of *papas*. Each member of the household eats this meal sometime in the evening, but there is no pressure for all to sit down together.

Before electricity came to the islands, at nightfall the family gathered around the kitchen table which held the whale or fish oil lamp. This room was the woman's proprietary domain, and all other members of the household were invited to share the space at the end of the day. Women often continued to do handiwork by the lamp's dim flame. Men sometimes engaged in a game of cards. Electricity has altered the use pattern of domestic space, particularly since the advent of television transmission on the islands. The television is rarely situated in the kitchen, this utilitarian room in the private reaches of the house. Rather this modern innovation is most often placed in a room that formerly received little use and was dedicated to special occasions where the public outside entered the private domain--the parlor, living room or "dining" room.¹ Television programs are aired between 6:00 and 11:00 in the evening, and children and adults alike tend to gather in front of the set as soon as the programs begin. Thus the kitchen is losing its function as a family center, and rooms that were formerly reserved for special occasions are gaining increased use. Thus, rooms that were once closed off from the accumulation of outside dust and dirt are now daily exposed and must also be regularly cleaned. Figure 5.7 illustrates the typical houseplan on Pico and Faial, and shows the preferred spatial organization of house orientation.

¹ Households that can afford a locally carved dining room set often place it in a room with other display items and virtually never use it for eating.

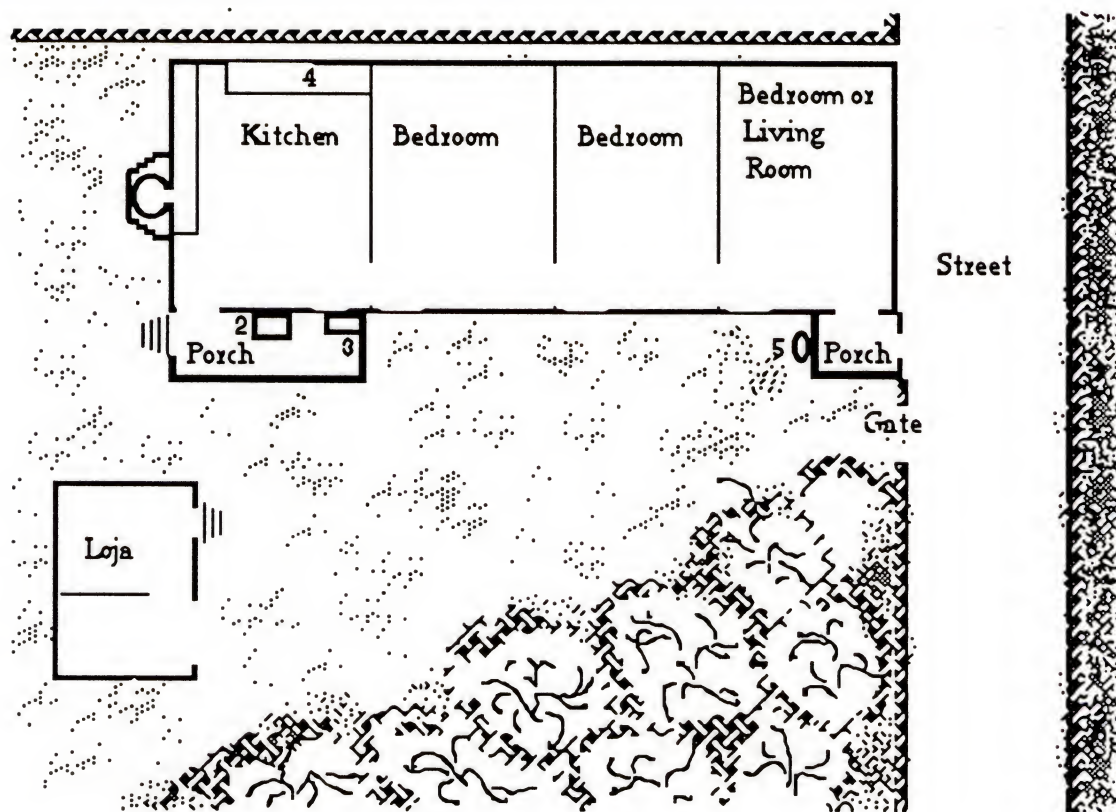


Figure 5.7
Traditional Houseplan

Note: 1) bread oven (*forno*); 2) rainwater tank; 3) laundry scrub basin
4) stone workspace; 5) cattle watering basin

Shown is the living space on the second floor. Not shown is the ground floor *loja*-- a space used for storage, cattle shelter, and to house the animal-driven stone grinding wheel (*atafona*). Foreground left is a *loja*. Foreground right contains grape vines growing in wells surrounded by stone windbreaks. This is typical of Pico but not Faial.

Formal and informal spaces: The maintenance of privacy

Fernández de Rota (1984), doing fieldwork in Galicia, Spain wondered whether he was kept out of the back portions of the house because the wife of the household was embarrassed about the disorder he would find there. This

seems unlikely since in many parts of Spain, like in the Azores, it is considered inappropriate for outsiders to enter people's homes even when women spend a large portion of the day doing housework and they are well-known for keeping their houses in impeccable order. Thus, when a visitor who is not well known is received into an Azorean household, certain regions of the house remain "out of bounds." Female outsiders are more likely to be admitted to the "private" parts of the domestic domain than are male outsiders, although close male relatives easily settle themselves in a woman's kitchen on the rare occasions when they come to visit by themselves. On Faial and Pico I often visited women in their homes after I had met them in some other locale. As I discussed in Chapter 2, my status in the village was that of a stranger who was not quite an outsider due to my distant kin relations with a Faial family. I had arrived for the first time on both islands in the winter. Probably in part due to the inclement winter weather that characterized the season when I initially met many of the women, I was always invited into the woman's kitchen rather than kept outside at the gate. However, when I would arrive at one of the same houses with my companion, Ron Harder, we would be ushered through the front door into the most formal room in the house. In many houses, the only time I ever saw those formal rooms was when he was with me. While we were in the parlor, all doors leading out to the rest of the house were kept closed despite the fact that the back rooms of these houses were kept scrupulously in order. The decor of the formal parlor depends on the resources of the household. In poorer households, the room will contain rough, handmade benches, one or more round tables holding family photographs, and likely a small shrine or religious image. In households with more means, the decor

is basically the same except that the furniture is finer and purchased rather than homemade.

The reservation of a particular space at the front of the house for special occasions, and the association with the back of the house, or in the Azorean case the entire remainder of the house, with ordinary activities, coincides with Lawrence's (1982:116) analysis of the use of domestic space: *front / public / symbolic / parlor* are contrasted with *back / private / secular / kitchen*. An urban planner once said to me that "the perfect city would contain no people." His meaning was that "ideal" designs usually have to be modified for daily use. By extension, the perfect house would also be vacant. The point is that in the reality of daily needs, the ideal use of space is not always achieved. In the Azores, the formal room is just such an ideal category of space, and not all houses have one. For example, when an adult child marries and moves with his or her spouse into the parents' house, the end room that might formerly been arranged as a parlor will be converted into a bedroom if this space is needed. In arrangement, the kitchen is not always at the back, and due to the many renovations that houses have undergone over the years, the formal room is not always reached through the front, but the connotations and behavior associated with the rooms are consistent with Lawrence's analysis. Azorean houses, which generally have two entrances, are frequently oriented to the side of the road. The formal entrance which leads into the parlor is located closest to the road, while the kitchen door opens onto the land at the other end. The outhouse is located as well out of public view as possible beyond the far end of the house. The rainwater tank is usually in front of the house near the kitchen. Internally piped water and sewage are conveniences that are only now reaching some of the villages. The 1981 census figures show that Pico has lagged far behind

Faial in the installation of plumbing and electricity. However, the number of houses that now contain these utilities is considerably higher on both islands than in 1981.

Table 1
Utility Installations by Number of Households, 1981

| Utility | Pico | % | Faial | % |
|------------------------------|------|-------|-------|--------|
| Electricity, Water, Outhouse | 417 | 9.6 | 1160 | 27.20 |
| Electricity, Water, Bathroom | 1177 | 27.1 | 2209 | 51.80 |
| Water, Outhouse | 163 | 3.8 | 91 | 2.10 |
| Water, Bathroom | 82 | 1.9 | 4 | .09 |
| Electricity, Water | 31 | .7 | 419 | 9.8 |
| Electricity, Outhouse | 1705 | 39.2 | 122 | 2.9 |
| Electricity only | 109 | 2.6 | 107 | 2.5 |
| Outhouse only | 597 | 13.7 | 37 | .9 |
| Water only | 11 | .2 | 62 | 1.5 |
| None | 53 | 1.2 | 56 | 1.3 |
| Total | 4345 | 100.0 | 4267 | 100.00 |

Source: INE 1981:59

Even in households where running water is installed, older villagers tend not to use it unless their tank has run out. This is partly due to the desire to avoid water payments, and partly due to habit. Says one woman: "The piped water is neither salty nor sweet; I can't explain what it tastes like, but it doesn't seem just right." Rainwater caught in a tank through a system of drains is thus often used for both cooking and bathing in many homes. The washstand is typically set up in the kitchen--the room nearest the tank. Therefore, while the kitchen is the locus of many of a woman's daily activities, and at times functions as a central place of family gathering, it also has traditionally been the location of personal hygienic activities. In this

sense, while the entire house and yard is a private domain, the front room of the house is ideally designated for those activities that are more public such as receiving the occasional guest, and the opposite end of the house, ideally the kitchen, is reserved for personal and many domestic activities. Some domestic work, such as laundry, are done outside on the porch in front of the house at the tank. Clothes are then hung from lines near the house. Thus, not all domestic tasks are hidden from public.

The expanse of land that intervenes between the working woman near her kitchen door (the private domain) and the street (the public domain) functions as a transitional zone. Social custom that upholds strict observance of the transitional zone allows for the selective entry of outsiders into the most private realm of the house. Although the front door is accessible from the street, only outsiders to the community--such as government representatives or itinerant salespeople from Morocco--would consider knocking on the front door. Rather, potential visitors call loudly from the gate at the street. During the day it is generally the women of the house who are thus summoned. Then, depending on the relationship of the two people, the woman of the house will either go out to the gate to talk, or invite the caller through the yard and into the kitchen. Appropriate behavior is an essential part of a child's socialization, and even young children are expected to follow the social rules.

The importance of a transitional zone that filters public impact on the most privately performed activities is vividly seen when certain members of the community consistently fail to observe these social rules. In one village on Pico, for example, in a household that was abandoned by the mother the children did not benefit from proper supervision and socialization. These children are notorious in the village for the frequency with which they ignore

social custom and look or walk into peoples' open kitchen doors, or bang on the door if it is closed. These unsolicited visits become awkward, particularly if a member of the household is bathing. Where rooms in the house change function during the day, and personal activities, such as bathing, do not necessarily have their own private space, the transition zone of the yard is supposed to serve as a buffer against unwanted or unexpected intrusion. Significantly, new houses that are designed with enclosed, specific-use spaces, and are equipped with modern, internally installed utilities such as plumbing and sewage, are usually built with the front of the house boldly facing the street, and little room in front is dedicated to the function of a transitional zone.

Expansion, Creation and Dissolution of Households

Household Identity and Inheritance

Houses and households are typically identified in the village by the last name of the man or woman in the oldest generation of the house, depending on through whose side the house was inherited. This occurs despite the half century of dictatorship when husbands were legally authorized to administer the property that their wives inherited. Members of the intermediate generation resident in a house do not refer to the house that they live in as theirs. However, they do regard the house as the place that they will likely live for the rest of their lives. And they expect that they will inherit the house when the parents die. Legally, inheritance has been partible in Portugal since the mid eighteenth century, and all siblings inherit equally. But as Goody (1976) argues, it is commonplace for local customs and norms to conflict with and openly defy legal statutes. In the common Azorean case where one sibling stays to live with the parents and the others move

elsewhere on the island or migrate, the one who has been living in the house usually inherits it. The land, however, may still be divided among the present and absent siblings. Since Azoreans have been out-migrating and cash cropping has died out on a household basis, the inheritance of small pieces of land has had more meaning for migrants in terms of *saudades*, nostalgia, than in economic terms. Many local Azoreans have expressed sentiments such as "Well, my brothers in New Bedford inherited some land from our father, but they don't care about it. Sometimes I use it for cows and don't have to give them anything in return, sometimes we rent it out to others, and sometimes it just sits." The seeming ambivalence that migrants have had as to the use of their land stems from the extremely low rents that can be collected for monthly use. An *alquiere* of land (approximately 1000 square meters) rents for only \$3.50 a month. Yet, migrants may become more concerned about their property in land as they come to realize how increasing tourism development on the islands is quickly raising land values.

This change in the perceived value of island property was illustrated after the tragic death of an elderly Faial couple who succumbed to a leaking household gas water heater when visiting the husband's relatives. The woman was born in Praia das Pedras on Faial, and the man was originally from one of the other islands. Each had migrated individually to Massachusetts a decade and a half earlier to live with relatives after having been widowed on the islands. They met and married in the United States, and both worked in manufacturing factories. After retirement, the couple returned to the Azores, and with their combined savings and pensions, they modernized and lived in the house in Praia das Pedras that the wife had owned from her first marriage. The house was large and comfortably renovated. However more importantly, it was situated on land near the

famous Praia das Pedras beach, with a clear view of the sea and the Pico mountain. The rapidly increasing value of such property did not go unnoticed by the couple's potential heirs. After the fatal accident, those who felt that they deserved to be included in the inheritance traveled to Praia das Pedras from as far away as the husband's island of birth and the New England migrant communities. Since the marriage had been the second one for both of the spouses, the situation became very complicated, and the wife's local Faial relatives were both shocked and distressed by the number and variety of people who quickly came forth to claim their "right" to the inheritance. At the end of the fieldwork period, the matter of the inheritance had not yet been settled, and the house had been placed in the care of an impartial third person. A high level of distrust developed between the different factions of the related families, and to ensure that nothing was removed from the house, all of the concerned relatives had been barred from entering.

Commonly, when none of the adult, married siblings are living with the parents at the time of their death, but they are living on the islands, the parents may choose one of the children or grandchildren to inherit a house based on the person's promise to care for an unmarried, handicapped or elderly sibling, aunt or uncle who the parents feel responsible for. It is more likely a female than a male who is willing to take on this responsibility. However, the practice of choosing a single heir may become more difficult as the houses and land on the Azores become worth more than simply a place to live.

If there are many adult siblings and none of them are living with an elderly parent at the time of death or favored for some other reason, inheritance of the house will ideally be divided among the siblings. Even when there is no dispute about who is entitled to a share, the situation is still

a difficult one, often resulting in disagreement within the family about what action should be taken with the house. The relatively large amount of money that can be gotten for the sale of a house in Praia das Pedras makes complete disposal of the house a seemingly attractive alternative. In a case that occurred during the fieldwork period in Praia das Pedras, the house and all the furnishings were sold after a bitter dispute among the siblings, and the proceeds were divided. The villagers watched these developments with disapproval, as the sale of a long-time family home is a cause for sadness.

Household Formation

Even though relatives and friends have traditionally helped a young couple construct a new house, costs and labor were involved that not all couples were able to meet. Thus, multigenerational households have always existed in the Azores, and if there was room in the house of one of the spouse's parents, a newly married couple would join an already established household. Elderly Azoreans have on the average five siblings, and their childhood homes were small. Often, an entire nuclear family in a multigenerational household slept in a single room. Consequently, it has been and remains unusual for more than one married sibling to live in the house of his or her parents.

The three-generational household and splintering. Figure 5.7 (shown earlier) is the plan of the Gonçalves family home in Santarosa on Pico. Maria and Manuel Gonçalves had four children--two girls and two boys. When the oldest boy married, he went to live in his wife's parents' house. But when the younger daughter, Alicia, married a boy from another island, she and her husband lived with her parents. After five years, Alicia had three daughters of their own, and they all slept in the room nearest the street. At

this point there were nine people living in the small house. The older daughter, Rosalina, slept in the smallest room near the kitchen, and the parents and younger son (who was thought to be mildly retarded and therefore unmarriageable) slept in the middle bedroom.

When Rosalina married, she and her husband rented a house in the village. Even though the rent was low, the lack of permanency or a sense of belonging involved in renting distressed them. Rosalina told me, "When we got married we had nothing, nothing at all. But we just worked and saved. We had to have a house." This was during the Salazar years, and it was difficult to accumulate cash, but Rosalina and her husband combined diverse economic strategies including periodic wage labor, artisanal home production and the sale of pigs to earn enough money to buy their house. They produced everything that they ate, and Rosalina's husband made most of the furniture and all of the tools that they used. After about ten years, they purchased their own house from a family that was leaving the island.

In a Faial example, the Veiga family house in Praia das Pedras is the same basic design as the Gonçalves house described above. Living in the house on Faial are the elderly Sra. Veiga and her adult, invalid son in one of the small rooms. When her husband was alive until a few years ago, he too shared that room. Her daughter Vitória sleeps in the end room with her husband and their two teenage sons. The rest of Sra. Veiga's children have migrated to the United States and Lisbon. It is impossible to move freely around the house as the middle room and kitchen are filled to capacity with the family's belongings.

Vitória's husband João (mentioned earlier) has a successful fishing business that takes him away from home for long periods of time. The family spends more than their income on consumer items, and have gone into debt

to have a large, new modern house constructed right next to the old one on land that had been used to cultivate vegetables and fruit trees. There are no male family members available to build the new house, so they had to contract the project out. However, two years after the architect's plans were approved for Vitória's house, only a foundation had been dug. Piles of dirt and construction materials lay where fruit trees used to be. There is a severe shortage of men on Faial who are willing to do paid manual labor, and most Azoreans who need construction work done complain that there is no one to do it, but Vitória's case is worse than most. João is not home often enough to intimidate the contract labor into giving their house priority, and Vitória and her mother are convinced that if there was a man in the house they would not be treated this way. Vitória is an assertive, outspoken woman who is comfortable overseeing the progress of her husband's fishing business when he is away. But while the fishing crew knows that Vitória represents João's interests, the construction crew owes no such consideration. Vitória's house construction illustrates the disadvantage women experience when it becomes necessary to exert influence or give orders to male workers.

When the house is eventually completed, Vitória's mother, Sra. Veiga, is not certain that she and her invalid son will move into it from the old one. She claims to be comfortable in the small house where she has lived since marriage. However, there is more to her reticence to move than years of habituation to one place. For sixteen years, the entire family has been living one on top of the other, and Vitória's husband has compensated for the lack of privacy by spending very little time at home. Even when he is not away from the island, he spends much of his time with his friends in the city. This is an option that is entirely closed to women who feel constrained by living with their in-laws, and is not often exercised by rural men, either. However, it

is common among urban male laborers, and may become more common among rural residents as the distinction between rural and urban values changes with increased participation in urban wage labor. Sra. Veiga senses the tensions that have grown in the crowded household over the years, and she feels that it may be better for her daughter and son-in-law to establish their own household with their sons. She imagines that little would change in terms of the division of labor between Vitória and her mother, except that each woman would be responsible for cleaning her own house. Other than that, the two households would form a household group, and continue to function almost as one unit.

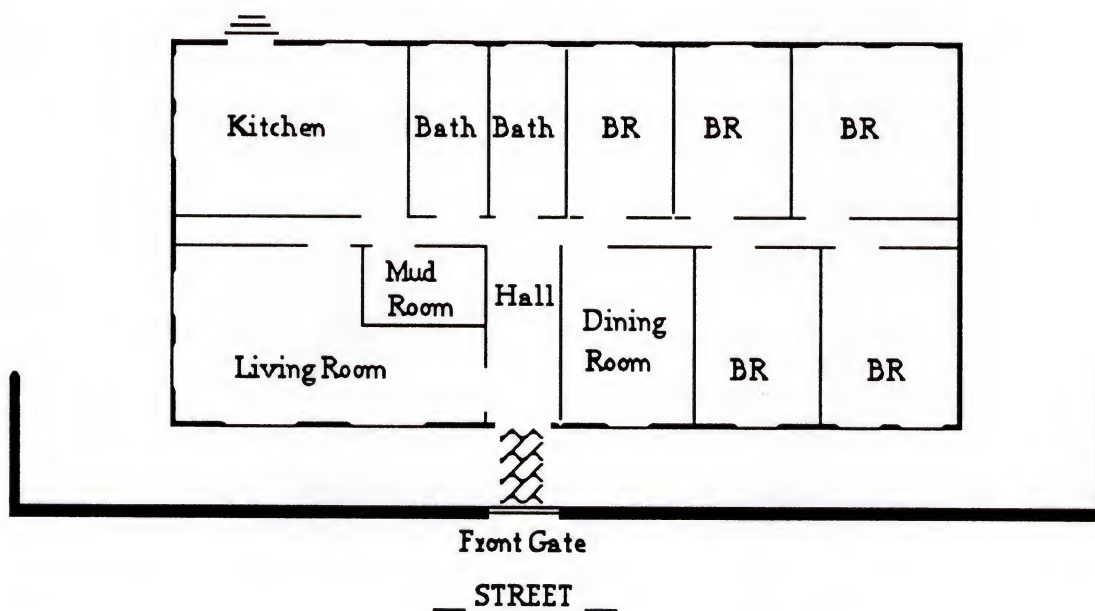


Figure 5.8
Typical Houseplan of a Newly Constructed Modern Residence

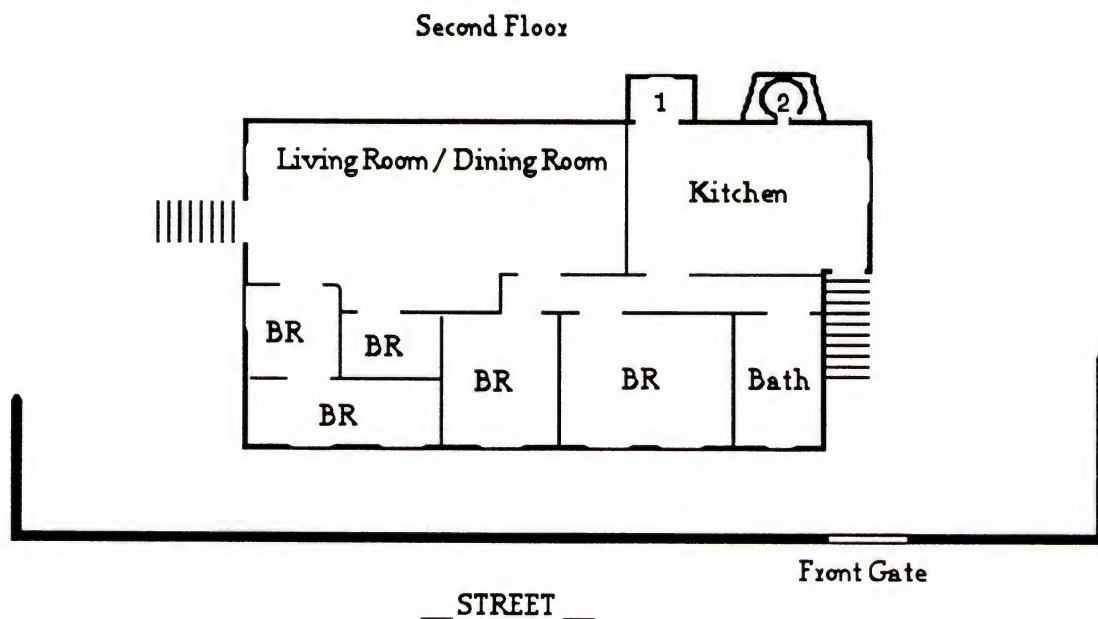
Vitória's household is unusual in its attempt to finance a large, modern house. Their house, diagrammed above in Figure 5.8, is typical of the elaborate houses that many return migrants on Pico and Faial are building.

These houses are often much larger than is necessary, containing more than one bathroom and extra bedrooms. For the migrants, the large houses serve as concrete evidence of their successful migrant experience.

Migrants' vacant houses. In the 1950s, accelerated out-migration from the Azores to the United States and Canada left many houses vacant on the islands. In 1981, there were 1215 empty houses on Pico. Of these, 64% were listed as having their occupants absent, and 36% were completely vacant. Many of the houses in the first category would have been left in habitable condition by migrants, and many of the houses in the latter category were likely in need of repairs. On Faial there were 933 empty houses, with 59% listed as having their occupants absent, and 41% completely vacant (INE 1981). Even allowing for some of the absences being of short duration, and some of the vacant houses being uninhabitable, there still remains a large number of empty, habitable houses on Pico and Faial. The excess of family houses has provided a way for newly married couples to establish, at least temporarily, their own households. Maria and Manuel Gonçalves' oldest daughter Rosalina, mentioned above, rented the house that she lived in on Pico for the first decade of her marriage. However, this is now an unnecessary option. Migrants are reluctant to rent out the houses that they leave behind because a Portuguese law protects tenants' rights. The owner of a house cannot remove tenants against their will. Since many migrants hope to return to the Azores in their retirement, they want to be sure of having access to their house when they return for a visit or to permanently live. Although migrants will rarely agree to rent out their houses, they commonly loan their houses to kin. Young, married couples from the extended family are often offered the use of the house for the first few years of marriage, and sometimes longer, until the couple can find a permanent place to live. In

recent years, the couple's eventual permanent residence is usually a house constructed near one of their parents' houses on the family land.

The example of the family of Fernando and Helena Machado of Faial illustrates how the house plays an important role in the maintenance of the ties between migrants and their kin on the islands. Fernando migrated to Canada in the late 1950s, followed two years later by his wife and their infant daughter. They left behind a three-room house that Helena, an only child and orphan, had inherited from an uncle. The house had originally been a storage *loja*, which Fernando remodeled into a home when he and Helena married. The house had land for a vegetable garden on the side, and a large plot for corn and potato cultivation or pasturage in the back. Shortly after the Machados left, one of Fernando's cousins from the village married, and the couple was given permission to move into the house. After twenty years, one of the wife's uncles died, leaving her his house in the village, and they moved into the inherited house. After they vacated the Machado house it remained empty for a few years, during which time the Machados had electricity and running water installed. When Fernando's sister's son, Luis, married soon after, Luis and his wife Fernanda moved into the empty house. The young couple had no place else to immediately live. Fernanda was Fernando and Maria Gonçalves' first granddaughter, and Fernanda had been born in the Gonçalves house on Pico. Her parents had migrated out of the islands when she was a child, and they returned when Fernanda was a teenager. Rather than moving back to Pico, Fernanda's parents bought a house on Faial, where there was more carpentry work for Fernanda's father, and a market where Fernanda's mother established a small commercial business. There was no room for the newlyweds in the house where Fernanda's parents lived.



Note: 1) alcove with iron wood stoves; 2) bread oven (*forno*)

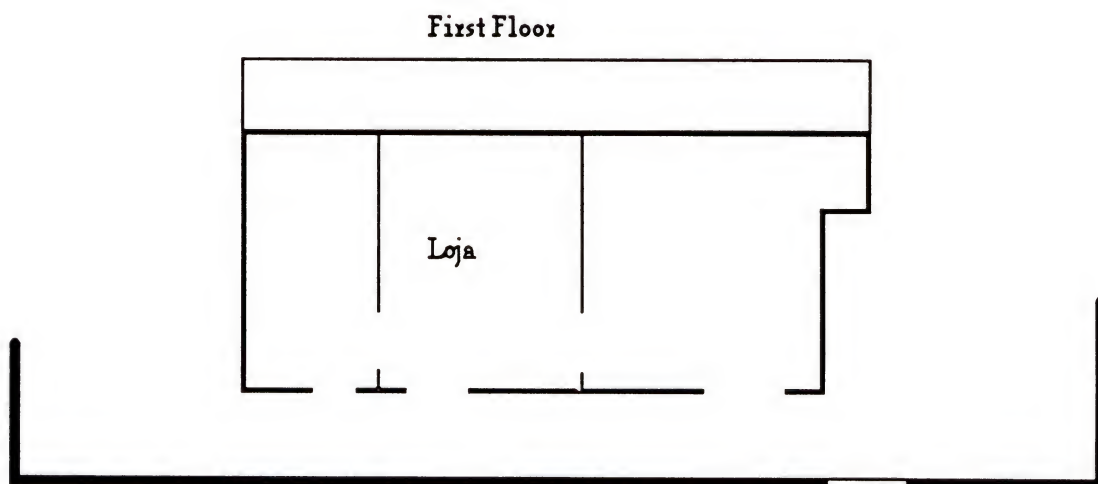


Figure 5.9
Typical Houseplan Showing Multiple Interior Subdivisions in
Second Floor Living Area, and a Ground Floor *Loja*

Luis's parents' were also unable to accommodate the couple, because even without Luis, seven people remained resident in the house: Luis's parents, his younger brother and two sisters, an invalid aunt, and a widowed

uncle. Typically, Azorean houses are made to accommodate increasing amounts of people by the subdivision of rooms or the conversion of hallway space into bedrooms. In Luis's parents' house, small, private sleeping spaces were already carved out by thin walls wherever possible, and there was no possibility of incorporating into the household a newly married couple and their future children. Figure 5.9, a diagram of Luis's parent's house, illustrates the use of multiple, small subdivisions.

Luis and his wife thus went to live in his uncle and aunt Machado's empty house. Commonly, while relatives are using a migrant's house, they make improvements on the dwelling in the migrant's absence. While Luis and Fernanda lived in the house they arranged with Fernando to have money sent from Canada, and the young couple, with the help of Fernanda's father's carpentry skills, added an indoor bathroom onto the house. After three years Luis and Fernanda had saved enough money from Luis's government job and Fernanda's multitude of small business endeavors to begin construction on their own house. They were given a piece of land directly across the road from Luis' parents, and they now live in a modern, two-bedroom, concrete house.

Shortly after Luis married Fernanda, Luis's first cousin, Geraldo, married Josefina, a woman from another village on Faial. For the first two years of marriage, Geraldo and Josefina lived in a one-room house on Pico, where Geraldo was working for a government utility company. Josefina found it very difficult living "in isolation" away from both her own and Geraldo's family, especially after their first child was born. When they returned to Faial, they could not move in with either of their parents, as both came from crowded homes. The only possible immediately available alternative for them was to move into the house left behind by one of

Geraldo's uncles who had migrated to the United States with his wife and all their children and grandchildren. Thus, Geraldo and Josefina had a house to live in when they returned to Faial, but their tenure in the house came to an end when after seven years Geraldo's uncle decided to return to Faial with his wife and the family of one married daughter. Since Geraldo and Josefina were living in the house at the time, they were responsible for some of the labor and all of the supervision of the remodeling and painting that was done in anticipation of their uncle's return. Geraldo's parents were also involved. The house received a complete renovation so that the simple, dirt floored dwelling was converted into a home where one could live, in Geraldo's aunt's words, "cleanly."

Thus, Geraldo and Josefina had to find another place to live. By the time they moved out of the house, the Machado house was vacant once again. Geraldo and Josefina moved in there for about a year while they remodeled the large, two-story *loja* that stood next to Geraldo's parents' house. Now, the converted *loja* is a permanent, modern-style home and it forms part of a household group with Geraldo's parents' household.

Neolocal Residence versus the Household Group

The availability of migrants' vacant houses affords newly married Azorean couples a sense of privacy that they would never achieve if they lived in the homes of one of their parents. However these neolocal residences also create problems for young couples. Since the houses that the couples borrow belong to members of the extended family, these houses are not always located near the homes of parents or siblings. Azorean villages can be considered nucleated settlements in that every house is in sight of several or many others, but the villages are sprawling and can cover several

square kilometers. Family agricultural land and houses are often spread throughout the village and also through different villages within the parish. Consequently, the houses of consanguineal or affinal relatives, even within the village, can be a walking distance of several minutes to up to an hour from the house where a young wife is living. Even short distances of a ten minute walk between houses are perceived as substantial in the Azores under certain conditions. Many villages are built on hilly terrain, and the exceptionally rainy, windy climate of the Azores makes movement through the village difficult. Azorean women, especially those with young children, count on a flow of cooperation in household reproductive tasks that either lightens their burden or shifts responsibilities so that they can more easily get their daily work done. Childcare is most often spread among women in the household or household group.

Studies using the production/reproduction framework attempt to distinguish reproductive labor from productive, however, frequently reproductive activities are lumped together without acknowledgement of the differentiation of tasks. Minge-Kalman (1978) notes that when studies fail to include child care as a work activity within the sphere of reproduction, women's actual work hours are under-represented. Activities require different degrees of attention and physical effort, and they take place in different parts of the home as well as away from the house. Most tasks are finite in their duration, even if they are done repeatedly during the day or week. However, childcare is ongoing, and does not cease when other tasks are in progress. Even a mother whose work does not often take her away from the home is not always able to give her children the attention that they demand. Housework in the Azores is both labor intensive and time consuming, and often requires a woman's entire attention. When there are

other women in the household or in the household group, mothers are temporarily relieved throughout the day from the responsibility of childcare. Pre-school age children whose grandmothers live in another house nearby roam back and forth at their will between the houses. They play in the kitchens or the yards, bringing messages back and forth between the women working in the houses. In this way, little girls are continually exposed to the routine of daily reproductive activity necessary to the functioning of a household. However, they are not expected at that age to help in household tasks.

Children are socialized early about the importance of the private sphere in Azorean culture. The Azorean norm of not entering non-relatives' homes extends to children as well as adults, and children rarely play in the street or the village square. Consequently, small children are always underfoot in their own or a close relative's house or yard. Children have little opportunity outside of school to play with non-kin friends, and they spend much of their time playing alone or with siblings and cousins. The only times that a large number of children are in evidence in the villages is when they are walking to and from the village primary school, and during some daytime *festas*.

Fernanda, mentioned above, exemplifies the strata of modern-oriented, married women in their thirties who are slightly too old to take part in the recent movement of Azorean women into the urban bureaucracy, but who are intent on finding ways to increase their household income. These women juggle their time between diverse income earning activities, household reproductive work, and the communal work expected of members of the household group. In the process, these women are finding that the typical tensions between themselves and other female members of the

household and the group, particularly their mother-in-laws, are reaching new levels as their work for income requires larger amounts of their time. Fernanda rejects the low paid "traditional" income earning activities, such as craft production, that Azorean women have been able to do in their homes while they cared for their children, and in which Fernanda's mother-in-law is highly skilled. Fernanda took a secretarial course after she finished tenth grade, but she did not at that time put her skills to use. Now she would like to get a full-time office job, but finds that she does not have the "connections" that are necessary. In addition, young, unmarried women are continually graduating from high school with greater qualifications than Fernanda has. Consequently, Fernanda has had to become creative in her search for income earning possibilities. Her most formal job is periodic work in a clothing store in Horta during periods of peak sales activity. When she is employed in the city, she does her own housework before and after work, but she is dependent upon her mother-in-law for daily childcare. When she does not have salaried work, she intersperses a variety of independent enterprises with her daily reproductive chores, all of which are more easily done without the attendance of her children. Fernanda keeps bees and sells the honey which she stores in her in-laws' *loja*, and she also sells cosmetics and an internationally marketed weight-loss system door to door.¹ The small room at the entrance to her house, which in most houses serves as a parlor, is set up as a complete hair salon. She does not keep regular hours at the salon,

¹ The growing popularity of a chemical weight-loss system reflects lifestyle changes where women have more to eat than in past decades and do less walking and manual labor than in the past. It also reflects the trend toward consumerism and increasing reliance on commercial products to meet villagers' needs.

and often, when returning home, she finds an entire family waiting in front of her house wanting haircuts.

Fernanda's mother-in-law feels that the demands made on her in terms of childcare are excessive, and she complains that Fernanda neglects, to some extent, the responsibilities of motherhood. However, similar to Pessar's (1986) findings among Dominican women who work outside the home, Fernanda sees her wide range of non-traditional economic activities as enhancing her motherhood role. The income that she earns is necessary to the higher standard of living that she and her husband are pursuing for their household, and for the future of their children. This goal has been increasingly possible since the end of the dictatorship in 1974, and is having an effect on household relations. In the Azorean peasant economy, all members of the household group labored in agriculture and sometimes periodic income generating activities to provide for the subsistence of the households in the group. However, aspirations for a higher than minimum standard of living that accompany increasing dependence on a wage and the growth of a consumer economy in the Azores, emphasize the individuality of the household for many aspects of daily life. The contradictions inherent in married women's diverse roles intensify in the context of their continued dependence on the communality of the household group for child care, subsistence agricultural production and other activities, and their growing commitment to the advancement of their individual household and children. For example, the economic success of Fernanda and Luis's household is still dependent on many services provided by Luis's parents' household across the street. Fernanda and Luis built a new house with the help of Luis's father, but they do not have a *loja* or bread oven. Fernanda stores her honey and tools in her mother-in-law's *loja*, and all the

implements used for the agricultural activities that Luis participates in belong to his father and are stored in that *loja*. When they want to eat the traditional cornbread, they get it from Luis's mother. Luis's parents have a telephone, and Fernanda and Luis are contacted at that number. And Fernanda's mother-in-law provides a tremendous amount of childcare when Fernanda is busy or out of the house. Fernanda does not contribute a portion of her earnings to her mother-in-law's household, although she and her husband continue to participate in all the communal (primarily agricultural) labor activities traditionally performed by members of their household group. In addition, she performs nontraditional services for the household group due to her special skills, such as providing honey and haircuts. When she goes to the city to work she also does errands for her mother-in-law. And when her mother-in-law is away from the house, Fernanda makes sure that the men in the house are properly fed.

Tensions are arising over whether Fernanda's need for her mother-in-law's child care services is beginning to exceed her right to call on them. This is a nascent problem, and Fernanda's mother-in-law does not refuse to care for the children when needed. However, Fernanda's problem is indicative of the direction that household relations are going in the Azores as more mothers pursue non-traditional work opportunities away from the home. Fernanda's mother-in-law and many other grandmothers like her are beginning to resent the magnitude of the need. A nurse who worked in the day care center in Horta believes that the demand for commercial day care currently overruns the capacity of the center, partly because some working mothers live in neolocal households or have no female kin on the island, but primarily because the grandmothers are increasingly refusing to take on the time-consuming, long term responsibility of childcare. Childcare falls heavily

on the elderly since unlike in the past, older children are now in school longer, and are not at home to help care for the younger ones. Grandmothers still expect, accept, and enjoy sharing childcare with the mothers. However, when childcare becomes a full-time activity, it places a disproportionately large burden on even the most patient and loving elderly women. Yet, for the moment, most mothers whose work takes them away from the home have no alternative but to call on their female kin.

Thus, in contrast to other Iberian regions where independent neolocal residence is the norm as well as the ideal (Aceves 1971; Brettell 1986; Cutileiro 1971; Freeman 1970; Gilmore 1980), separate--but not autonomous--residence is the ideal in the Azores. While neither the household nor household group is a conflict-free cohesive unit, the constant exposure of members to each other allows certain mutually accepted patterns to develop along with continual renegotiation and realignment of needs and obligations. The type of cooperation that occurs between family members who live in the same household or household group is impeded when a young couple sets up a completely neolocal household. A wife who works outside her home and has no one in the household or group to care for her children must negotiate childcare with her female relatives and bring her children to them and pick them up. The conscious nature of the action consequently inhibits the type of reciprocal flow of responsibility that occurs within the household group.

The physical separation of domestic domains also has an emotional aspect when wives are secluded in their homes. While women prefer to live near their mothers rather than their mother-in-laws, even the latter arrangement is favored over living in "isolation" among non-kin neighbors. Households are increasingly acquiring modern appliances that both reinforce and break down the isolation of the individual household. The majority of

households currently do not have a full range of modern amenities such as washing machines, televisions, videocassette recorders, telephones and motor vehicles, but many households acquire these items one at a time. While on one hand modern appliances make housework increasingly privatized and confined to the house, telephones and private vehicles facilitate communication between family in dispersed dwellings. The complete isolation that women describe having felt in the early years of their marriage, if they lived away from kin would be somewhat mitigated today now that more households have telephones. Home telephones are a very recent phenomenon, and the majority of households are without. But the demand for home telephones is increasing, and currently on Faial there is a six month waiting list for installation.

The impact of increased communication possibilities due to home telephones has an immediate effect on the family. For example, two households in the Machado family on Faial had telephones installed shortly before the end of the fieldwork period, thus connecting all five elderly Machado siblings by telephone. One of the telephones was installed in Josefina and Geraldo's house, and Geraldo's parents have access to the telephone whenever they need it. Josefina was particularly excited about getting a telephone since her parents and siblings live in another village on Faial, and she is only able to see them two or three times a month. Her husband had been against installing a telephone because he was concerned that Josefina would spend too much time talking to her mother. Geraldo eventually relented, and when the phone was installed it was his mother who actually utilized the telephone the most. The telephone came about the same time that a heated family dispute was occupying the elderly siblings. This particular family argument marked a sharp change in the nature of

conflict and communication in the family. The new telephone facilitated endless hours of daily discussion between the four siblings that would otherwise have been impossible due to their dispersed residences. The telephone had been installed in Josefina's dining room, but it was her mother-in-law, a woman who normally wastes no time in idle conversation, who initially made most use of the new communication tool.

Daughter-in-laws who ultimately end up living in a house built on the same piece of land as their mother-in-laws typically complain about the personal conflicts that ensue between them. Mother-in-laws are known to be critical of their daughter-in-laws' domestic and mothering skills, particularly in recent years when women are increasingly dividing their time between domestic work and skill training or non-traditional income producing work. However, the daily rhythm of women's lives actually depends upon the residential proximity of the women. Rural Azorean couples appreciate having their own house, but it is currently not practical to strive for a completely independent, neolocal residence. The family, conceptualized varyingly as the household, household group and even the extended family, with all its aspects of conflict as well as cooperation, is the unit of identification for rural Azoreans.

Housing Subsidy Programs and Household Composition

The development of tourism on the islands is an integral part of the state's economic strategy, and as a result, land prices are rising. Young people are realizing that it is now impossible for most of them to consider purchasing land. For those who have access to family land or an old house, two kinds of construction subsidies have been available since 1981. These subsidies, administered by the Regional Department of Habitation, Urbanism

and Environment, are designed to help people renovate an old structure or build an entirely new house on family land. To improve a dwelling, Azoreans can apply for the *Habitação Degradada* (Dilapidated Housing) subsidy. The total income of an applicant household cannot exceed two times the minimum yearly wage, and the subsidy ranges from 200,000 *escudos* (\$1333) to 350,000 *escudos* (\$2333). Even the upper range, which approximates a minimum yearly wage, covers only a fraction of the cost of building a new house. However the money is a considerable help in the renovation of an old structure. The *Habitação Degradada* program was initially conceived as a way to help people accomplish such necessities as replacing an old roof. But if used in combination with money from other sources, such as savings from wages, much larger projects can be attempted. Common construction projects are the conversion of a *loja* into a dwelling or the entire renovation of an abandoned, dilapidated house. This subsidy is awarded on a competitive basis. About 100 subsidies are given out each year, and every parish is allotted a quota of recipients. Preference is given to married couples with children. In addition to the normal quota, a widow in each parish (but not a woman who is separated or divorced) is chosen to receive the subsidy.

The regional government also offers a subsidy for the construction of new houses under a "self-help" program (*autoconstrução*). The household income of general applicants cannot exceed three times the minimum yearly wage. However, a 1986 amendment to the ruling aimed at helping young couples (*casais jovens*) start their own households allows couples whose combined ages is less than fifty to apply for the subsidy, even if their income is greater than the normal maximum permitted. Like most self-help housing programs world over, the government supplies the materials rather than a cash outlay. This method, which is frequently centrally administered by a

large, inefficient bureaucracy, often results in delayed delivery of an insufficient quantity of poor quality, overly-expensive materials (Goldman 1985; Oliver-Smith and Goldman 1988; Turner 1976).

In comparison with many cases of self-help housing in Latin America, Azorean recipients are quite satisfied. In the Azorean program, after an applicant is accepted there is a standard one to one and a half year wait for materials. But the recipient is forewarned about the initial delay and there has been little problem with quality and delivery of materials once the construction process has begun.¹ The government supplies all of the basic construction materials, and the recipient provides the labor and is responsible for the land grading, the plumbing materials, and the furnishings. As an incentive not to abandon the project after construction has begun, the state also supplies paint for the exterior and materials to build a wall or fence when the house is completed. On Pico and Faial, only three houses have been abandoned on each island since the program began. On Pico in the spring of 1988, of the 246 houses that have been subsidized, 169 were completed or were in the final stage of completion, and 62 were about to begin construction. On Faial, 116 houses had been funded, 63 were completed or nearing completion, and 28 were commencing construction. Participation in the program requires the use of a government approved house design, and there are styles available for one to five bedroom houses. Depending upon the applicant's

¹ Self-help housing programs are commonly utilized during the reconstruction process following natural disasters. In these cases, where decisions are hastily made and people's housing needs are acute, severe problems with implementation of self-help housing programs arise. An example of quick, efficient reconstruction after disaster utilizing a self-help housing regime is that of the Azorean Island of Terceira following the 1980 earthquake. While local planners and engineers are concerned that the city has not yet been totally rebuilt, the recovery is remarkable in comparison with other post-disaster regions. The process of reconstruction of Terceira is reported in IAC (1983).

financial condition, the program subsidizes 50%, 75% or 100% of the cost of construction.

Self-help housing programs are conceived ideally to utilize unpaid labor, particularly that of kin. In this way they are the modern-day, cash economy equivalent of the neighborly contribution method of house construction described for earlier decades. Relatives and neighbors are no longer able to provide the building materials, as rather than rock, mud and straw, construction now utilizes concrete, wood, clay tiles and earthquake resistant iron rebar. But what of labor? In the Azores as elsewhere (Turner 1976), the advent of the self-help program has coincided with social changes that impede a household's ability to depend on family and friends to complete such a large project. Currently in the Azores, many recipients of the self-help subsidy have no siblings who are able to help them because they have out-migrated or they are occupied with their wage labor jobs. Friends are not called upon because they are burdened with their own family obligations. Even the recipient couple, themselves, may have little time to work on it themselves. Thus, the subsidies that pay for construction materials free the couple's own monetary resources to pay for the necessary labor. This is a sharp departure from the past where households, or at least extended kin groups, have prided themselves on being self-sufficient in labor. Hiring construction or agricultural labor was frowned upon. As I discuss more fully in Chapters 7 and 8, the transformation of Azorean society to an increasingly cash-oriented economy is resulting in the substitution of hired labor for family labor in various household projects and activities.

The wage structure in the Azores is such that people's earnings are disproportionately low with respect to costs on the islands. While people are increasingly occupied with wage labor jobs, to the detriment of their ability to

do their own construction, their earnings are insufficient to hire replacement labor if they have to also pay for materials. Where at one time construction materials were locally found, modern designs and regulations call for expensive, commercially made materials. The construction subsidies, then, are necessary to compensate for people's time lost to wage labor jobs that do not pay enough to hire replacement construction labor. The subsidies constitute an important program in the Azores, because since so much of daily activity on the islands still revolves around the domestic domain, the house is an important symbol of Azorean life. Even though many villagers engage in wage labor in the city and household priorities are undergoing reorientation, the domestic domain remains the focus and context around which family decisions are made. The house is where everyone comes home to after work and after school. A sense of permanency of residence, if not ownership of the structure, is crucial to rural Azoreans. Thus, even when the intermediate generation of a three generational household cannot say that the house in which they live is their own, they identify with the house and the other household members in a time enduring way. Conversely, renting, which does occur although it is unusual in the rural areas as was discussed above, is highly disparaged. It is a sign that one does not quite belong to the community for one reason or another. The reasons a household would have to rent range from the family being newcomers to the islands, to a woman having been abandoned by her husband and subsequently choosing to relocate. While renters are few and their reasons extreme, their sense of instability provides high contrast with other villagers. An elderly woman on Pico, for example, whose husband left her shortly before he died, relocated to be near her married daughter. She did not want to impose on her daughter's family, so she rents a rustic, two room house for the nominal charge of 500

escudos (\$4.80) a month from a migrant that she knew beforehand, but who is not her kin. She plants potatoes and other vegetables on the plot attached to the house, keeps chickens, and always has a jar filled with wildflowers on the kitchen table. She is gregarious and friendly with the neighbors, and after seven years of residence appears to be well settled in the house and the village. However when I asked her about her home she quickly, and bitterly, answered: "Oh, this is not my house. It is hard to say that this is where I live, because I only rent this house."

In another example, when I was walking to town on Pico one day, I was still five kilometers away when I got caught in a heavy rainstorm that was passing quickly overhead. A woman hanging laundry in a nearby *loja* beckoned me to come in out of the rain. In the course of the conversation she explained that she had come from the continent with her husband and children a few years back. She gestured to her surroundings with embarrassment, and told me that they were just renting that place. Then she leaned way out of the *loja* into the rain, to point down the road where a partially constructed house stood with the *auto construção* program sign out front. "When we get into that house," she said, "then we will really belong here on Pico."

Conclusion

The nature of the Azorean household has changed over the years, with particular impetus following the economic reforms of the 1974 revolution. Prior to and during the Salazar years, when houses were small and simple, and made of locally obtainable materials, the norm was for each married couple to have their own house. Obligations of reciprocity were called in from among relatives and neighbors, and each contributed a small amount of

materials and labor toward the construction of a house. As houses became more complicated, partly due to the influence of the migrants to North America and the improvements that their earnings and the remittances that they sent back could buy, it actually became more difficult for a young couple to have their own house. Multigenerational households were common, and this household type persists as the most frequently found type to this day. Some couples utilized the houses left vacant by their migrant relatives, and the isolation that they experienced in their neolocal residence, especially on the part of the young wives, highlights the importance of close kinship ties for both emotional and physical support in the running of a domestic domain. Whereas even when men are communally responsible for the cultivation of family fields, their work takes place in the field and proximate living is not crucial. However for women, whose primary work has taken place in the domestic domain, living in isolation from close relatives means working in isolation and carrying the entire burden of household tasks alone. Childcare, the most pervasive and continual of reproductive tasks, is an important area that suffers when women do not have kin to share the responsibility with. Thus, now that it is again becoming possible for young couples to establish their own household due to their participation in wage labor and with the help of government subsidies for construction, the trend has been for couples to build their new home on land adjacent to the house of one of the spouse's parents. In this way, relations of sharing and mutual responsibility for many aspects of domestic labor are continued, while the couple enjoys the privacy and relative autonomy of their own residence. When there are two or more households in a household group, housecleaning and most cooking are the major tasks that are repeated in the separate households. The work involved in other time-consuming tasks

such as laundry, baking, cultivation of kitchen gardens and the care of children are spread among the women in the group. This flow of responsibility is especially important as women are engaging in paid employment outside the home in increasing numbers.

Women's traditional domestic roles in the Azores are currently being re-evaluated and reformulated in response to changes that accompany the household's reorientation toward wage labor in an expanding consumer economy. Women who do not work outside the home but whose husbands do--the group of women ranging in ages from about 30 to 45--are caught between traditional and modern ways of life. Where the dominant ideologies of the state and the Church have long defined women's place as confined to the home, the reality of the lives of older women in the peasant economy defied these *de jure* rules. Women in the middle age range, however, are finding that the old ideology--that is no longer propounded by the state--describes the condition of their lives today. These women have ceased to hold a position in the household where they work alongside their husbands for the maintenance and reproduction of the family. Their husbands go daily to their jobs in the public sphere of wage labor, and bring home the cash wage with which they are gradually coming to formulate their personal identification. The character of the house is changing, as it is not seen as a place that is mutually created by the members of the household, but a place that is furnished by a wage. Women's housework has in some respects become easier, as they have machines to do some of the more arduous tasks. But their work days have actually gotten longer and they no longer garner satisfaction from what they do. Where young wives live in proximity to their mother-in-laws, either in a multigenerational household or in a household group, the traditional division of labor is reinforced to a certain extent. While

women are taking on diverse new tasks in agricultural fieldwork and in wage labor (see Chapters 7 and 8), elder members of the family often support a husband's demands that his wife continue to do "real" women's work in the house. When the husband brings home a paycheck, and the wife does not work outside the home, men tend to wield increased power in household decision making. Women in this situation appear to have a weaker position in the household vis-a-vis their husbands than do women in their mothers' generation.

Younger, currently unmarried women are going to school longer than did their older sisters and mothers, and they plan to enter the labor force before marrying. Many are not bothering to learn the traditional skills of wife-and motherhood, and exhibit little interest in the subjects of marriage and children. This is a current phenomena that is affecting the generation of young people who recently left school, and it will involve continued research to understand how their participation in wage labor will affect household composition and gender and generational relations.

Chapters 4 and 5 have examined the processes relating to the creation of families and the formation of households. Women cannot be seen as an isolated group, or functioning as independent individuals--they live in households and household groups, and their lives are defined in relation to the other people in these units. Thus, the local level information in these two chapters places women in their daily social context, and forms the basis for the remainder of the dissertation where I discuss women's private and public roles in religion and work. In the following chapter, I examine how women's participation in village religious ritual has served to highlight the importance of women's daily work in household reproduction, while at the

same time it has afforded women prestige in the public sphere of communal, social labor.

CHAPTER 6
RELIGIOSITY AND COMMUNITY: RELIGIOUS AND SECULAR
RITUAL IN WOMEN'S LIVES

Introduction: Religion, Ritual and Women's Roles

Ritual

In the Azores, as in continental Portugal and in many other countries of the Catholic Mediterranean, women are the foundation of religious ritual and tradition (Lison-Tolosana 1966; Reiter 1975; Riegelhaupt 1984). In these patriarchal, Catholic countries men hold the prestigious spiritual posts, yet men who hold official positions are just a minority of the population. Among ordinary villagers, it is the women who keep the religious cycle progressing during the year through their local-level interpretation of religious practice. In the Azores, it is the women's habitual and timely public performance of certain activities that ensures that local religious tradition does not die out. The priest would say mass to virtually empty pews were it not for the women's faithful attendance in Church; women are responsible for children's socialization into the faith both in their capacity as catechism teachers and through reinforcement in the home; and it is the women who perform the specific domestic tasks in a public, ritualized way that are essential to the maintenance of the yearly *feira* cycle. In this chapter I examine women's religiosity, which is conducted on an individual basis within the context of Azorean society, and ritual and festas, which are those activities

that are engaged in cyclically, on a community-wide basis. Rituals performed privately in the home, while important to the maintenance of a daily routine, are not included here. I limit my discussion to what Aguilera (1978) refers to as "rites of intensification" or "rituals of the annual cycle," as my concern is to examine how women use ritual in a redefinition of their public roles.

Traditionally, most community rituals have been of a religious orientation. However, with the social and economic changes occurring in Azorean society since the 1974 revolution, women are becoming incorporated into new, secular aspects of the public sphere, and secular rituals are becoming integrated into the Azorean festival calendar.

Ritual and *Festa* Preparation in the Public Sphere

Participation in daily religious practice as well as preparation for the activities of the *festa* cycle are the domain of the Azorean woman. Associated with this responsibility is an important aspect of a woman's identity--her public, social self; a part of her persona that finds little other outlet of expression, and which affords the traditional Azorean woman public status in a way that she would otherwise not obtain. Sacks (1974), in a reformulation of Engel's (1972) argument, maintains that women lack public status and are viewed as subordinate dependants because "public or social labor is the material basis for adult social status" (Sacks 1974:222). And social labor, defined as any work done for other than household use (1974:212) is usually reserved as the domain of men. Women's prominent role in the preparatory labor and public performance of religious ritual, then, can be seen as emphasizing their adult status in Azorean peasant society. As will be elaborated in later chapters, Azorean women's participation in agricultural production is viewed in peasant households as complementary to men's

work activities. However, women's work takes place predominantly in the private sphere, in the production of use values for the maintenance and reproduction of the household. Thus, women's work is denigrated within the ideology of the state that places men in a dominant position over women.

The *effect* of state legal systems and other aspects of ideology developed mainly by ruling classes has been to convert differences between men and women in terms of their roles in production into a system of differential worth. Through their labor men are social adults; women are domestic wards. (Sacks 1974: 221)

Yet, local level interpretation allows for the recognition of women's worth in Azorean peasant society. Preparation for ritual and *feira* performance still involves the production of use values, but under altered conditions. For some *feiras*, food preparation is not a private but a communal, public, social activity. For other *feiras*, the foods are prepared by women in individual households or in small groups. However, the character of the food itself, and the labor that is involved in its preparation, is transformed when the goal is social rather than household consumption. Women participate in *feira* preparation and performance as individual representatives of their households. Men are the official *mordomos* of the *feiras*, and young girls assist their elder female relatives. But it is the adult women who are honored on the occasion of the *feira*, and who are in control of the decisions behind the production, and the ultimate distribution of the *feira* foods.

In addition to state ideological forces, Catholic Church doctrine also functions to maintain women in a subordinate status. Women's religious participation, then, can be seen in two different ways. Some writers maintain that since women are excluded from *formal* leadership positions within

Church hierarchy, and consequently from Church governance, they are separated from the control of knowledge (Porter and Venning 1976; Sinclair 1986). The exclusion of women from Church governance is discriminatory. In the last chapter I discussed the ideology of the Catholic Church, with its patriarchal, authoritarian structure. Yet few villagers are actually involved in formal Church governance, so if we turn the discussion to the ordinary villager, we find that women are very much in control of religious knowledge. It is women who disseminate it on the widest scale--in the home and in catechism classes--and through daily and cyclic religious activity and ritual, women have maintained a certain power. That women recognize this is evident by the older women's efforts to maintain their association with the priest and the church--efforts that younger Azoreans, who are gaining access to other means of power and self-expression, see only as a stubborn desire to cling to a suffocating tradition. Porter and Venning (1976:97) maintain that

Catholic doctrine in Italy and in Ireland forced and sanctified the privatized role which women have had in traditional societies and which, though modified, has been retained in essence in the modern world.

This is true of the Azorean case also, but it is important when considering traditional societies to explore the entire nature of women's participation in religion and ritual, and the impact that this participation has on other areas of their lives. To summarily assume that women passively succumb to the dominating forces of State, Church and Family, functioning as manipulated puppets rather than thinking actors, is to follow the androcentric line of reasoning that has often been employed in ethnography. That perspective assumes, *a priori*, that women's activities are secondary, supportive, and above all, reactive. Conversely, a perspective that treats the women in

isolation from their context in society also presents a skewed picture of women's position within that society.

Sinclair (1986) criticizes those who look at religious activity from a male-oriented perspective, and tries to avoid this bias, herself, by focusing on the powerful roles that women have played in the capacity of "religious practitioners". However, Sinclair does not do women justice in confining her analysis to titled, leadership positions in the religious hierarchy. She sees no power or value in the actions of ordinary women, and she excludes them entirely. My research is not a study of the power elite, nor of people with unusual gifts or socio-political connections. I am concerned in this chapter with how generations of women in Azorean households have responded to their lives of limited circumstances and structural restrictions, and the part that religion and ritual has played in their response.

In this chapter I examine whether women's participation in Church activities and their identification with the priest and Church doctrine have further entrenched them in a subordinated position, or have allowed them to cope with and manipulate the reality of their position within the Azorean cultural context. Firstly, I explore what the traditional Azorean woman gains by drawing her identity from the Church, her oppressor, while the men reject the Church's authority. And secondly, I discuss how as society opens up for women, offering new venues for self expression and independence through education and employment, women's participation in religious and Church ritual and performance are changing, and secular, celebratory *festas* are joining the yearly ritual cycle.

The previous chapter traced the manner in which the Church in Portugal has defined women's position in and confined women's position to the home and the family. In this chapter I develop the idea of the Azorean

woman as religious actor, and explore how her identity as such has broadened her role and opportunities within the general context of Azorean life. For example, an accounting of the ratio of male to female *feita mórdomos* (sponsors), with the result falling almost exclusively for the former, is not useful information for describing the position of women in the Azores. The *mórdomo* position is a formal one, sanctioned by the Church (Riegelhaupt 1973). However, the particular manifestation of the *feita* is designed according to local religious practice as developed in a particular society.

An analysis of the specific content of the *feita*, with respect to the division of labor in the preparation and performance of the ritual, is necessary to understand the role of women vis a vis religious practice in the Azores. As Barbara Rogers (1979:33) writes,

[I]t would be of little value to assign fixed weights or ranking to different groups of people according to 'status' or rank in the pre-existing social hierarchy. The degree of control exercised by each individual or group is not quantifiable; social interaction is too complex, subtle and unpredictable for such a simplistic exercise.

Through performance of religious ritual, women receive preeminence, not through a *reversal* of roles, but by carrying out activities that are traditionally associated with women in the Azores. This expression is epitomized in the preparation for and performance of the *feita*, which highlights for the community the women's essential reproductive activities that are normally taken for granted. The *Festa do Louvor do Divino Espírito Santo*, in particular, reinforces for the community women's adult, social role in the provision for everyone's material and spiritual sustenance and survival. For the period of this *feita*, which altogether in the different locales spans more than one third of the year, the private becomes public. With

public performance as the underlining principle of the *Espírito Santo*, this *feira* is unusual in the Azorean *feira* cycle. In a culture where public performance is de-emphasized, indeed, public activity of any kind downplayed, it is significant that the major roles in the *Espírito Santo* belong to women.

The following section is a discussion of women's traditional roles in day-to-day Church participation and religious socialization. Azorean women experience religiosity on this level as individuals. Church attendance, respect for the priest, interpretation of Church doctrine, and the maintenance of a moral code of behavior for oneself and one's daughters are the personal responsibility of adult Azorean women. However, individual attitudes are developed within the context of Azorean society, and a generalized consensus of appropriate behavior has been arrived at over the years. Thus, local religious interpretation has its communal dimension, as well.

Following the discussion of women's religiosity, the remaining sections of the chapter examine the role of *festas* in Azorean life, their importance for women as traditionally legitimate public sphere activities, and three specific, important religious *feira* periods and a new secular *feira* in the Azorean festival cycle. The chapter concludes with an examination of how women's traditional roles conflict with the new agendas that the state is now making available for Azorean women, with increased opportunities for education and paid employment. Where Salazar sought to restrict women's activities to biological and social reproduction, the post-Salazarian governments have encouraged, and are supplying, the necessary infrastructure for a move toward ever increasing integration into the public, productive sphere.

Religiosity as Church Attendance

Women in the Azores, at least in regard to formal participation in the Church, are more religious than men. That is, they attend mass far more often than men do. But as future keepers of religious faith, girls are socialized from early on in the ways of the spiritual morality that is the burden of females, because everyone knows that men "aren't much for religion or mass" (*não são muito para o religião ou a missa*). In most of the principal churches of the Azores mass is said daily. The afternoon weekday masses are not well attended, and churchgoers are mainly elderly and female. That even these few villagers come regularly is partly out of their sense of piety, partly habit, and partly because these afternoon trips to the church may be the only time when they leave the confines of their house or yard all day. The seat of almost every *freguesia*, or parish, has a large church with a resident priest. But in many *freguesias* the priest travels on specific days during the week to the smaller villages and the distant sections of the parish to say mass at the village chapel, (*ermida*), or at an *império*, a small, one-room decorative building otherwise reserved for use during the festival of *Espírito Santo*.

For example, in Praia das Pedras, one of the larger parishes on Faial, the priest says mass at six o'clock in the afternoon on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays in an *império* located some distance from the church, in the more populated end of the *freguesia*. Since both public and private transportation is even now limited on the islands, many residents of the higher reaches of the parish have no time on Sunday mornings to do their chores and walk all the way down to the sea to attend Sunday morning mass at the church, so the Saturday mass in their neighborhood is well-attended. It is especially important for women to hear mass, and even the busiest women manage

somehow. For example, Vitória is committed to hearing mass at least once a week, even though she has more responsibilities than the average Azorean woman and finds Sunday mass difficult to attend. Vitória's husband, a fisherman, cares nothing for the land, and so Vitória's work load includes complete care for the milk cows that she inherited from her father. Vitória organizes her weekend around the availability of the Saturday mass. As is typical in the Azores, Vitória's land holdings are scattered from one end of the parish to another, and the bulk of her pastureland lies several kilometers from her house, up near the *império*. Usually Vitória takes care of the cows herself, but every Saturday she brings her two teenage sons along for the afternoon chores so they can all hear mass before milking, watering, moving and restaking her cows in a new grassy spot.

In Praia das Pedras, with a total population of around 800, eight people regularly attend the Monday/Wednesday masses in the church, and about twenty hear mass on the alternate days at the *império*. On Sundays, about 250 people of all ages, both male and female, go to the church, although fewer actually attend mass. As Riegelhaupt (1984) observed in continental Portugal, the women file into the building early and fill up the pews, while the men sit in the very last row, stand at the back of the church, or more often, remain outside the doors in the yard. As early as an hour before mass women can be seen in groups of two's and three's, hurrying down the hilly, cobbled streets to the church, with old flat shoes or canvas sneakers on their feet and carrying high-heeled leather pumps wrapped in plastic bags. They do not delay getting to their destination, stopping only momentarily to change shoes when just out of sight of the church. They slip through the doors quickly, almost stealthfully, especially if men have already begun to congregate in the church yard. Most of the men arrive at the church later and talk in the yard until the

mass begins, or even throughout the entire service. Herminia., a twenty-three year old return migrant who lives and teaches Sunday catechism in Praia das Pedras, explains it this way:

In the past, only women went to church, that is, if the husbands came with them to church they would stay outside during mass, because women were the ones who were supposed to pray and do all the religious chores. With time, men started attending mass, but sitting in the back pews and women and children in the front. You can still see this custom in our churches, especially in the villages, although there are a few men who are starting to sit next to their wives in the middle of the church.

Among the small number of men who sit next to their wives are elderly return migrants and younger, "progressive" minded men who work at wage labor and whose wives do also. A factor that appears to be facilitating the change in men's attendance at church is the increasing use of automobiles. While the majority of households still do not own cars or pickup trucks, these private vehicles are becoming more common on the Azores Islands. Each Sunday the narrow street along the church is crammed with parked vehicles. A pasture that borders the beach across from the church was being turned into a parking lot during the spring of 1988 to accommodate the increasing number of tourists to the Praia das Pedras beach, but the lot will serve well in eliminating congestion at Sunday mass. While walking in a religious procession in the village one day, a young return migrant woman who drives a car, pointed to the stone walls that protect the pastures from the road, and said to me in irritation, "The streets are so narrow in these little villages. I wonder when they will widen the streets." There is prestige involved in owning a vehicle, especially a car, and those who have them use them as often as possible, particularly to arrive at a public gathering. Some of the young girls are learning to drive when they come of

age, but few female adults currently drive. The rest, then, are dependent upon their husbands for transportation, which brings otherwise reluctant men--physically, if not spiritually--to church.

The Church, Priests and Religious Interpretation

Popular anticlericalism, although characteristic of continental Portugal periodically throughout history and particularly through the Salazar years, has not been as widespread in the Azores. While there has been some show of disdain for the observance of Catholic doctrine in the Azores, it has been more a symptom of religious indifference than of pointed anticlericalism. Unlike in continental Portugal during the Salazar regime, where the priest was an object of disdain because of his multiple and conflicting roles as "a minister, a businessman, a patron, a policeman and a man" (Riegelhaupt 1984:99), Azorean priests have generally maintained a respected position. Unlike in continental Portugal, priests on the Azores Islands were usually related by kin to members of the parish, and they did not function as users, landlords or patrons (Cutileiro 1971), nor were they referred to as *padre facistas*.

However, as Azorean society is opening up with a new generation of young people educated since the revolution and experiencing entirely new social and economic circumstances, many Azoreans--especially the women--are beginning to have less tolerance for the priest's attempts to control what they consider their private or personal decisions. In the post-Salazar years there has been an explosion of new influences from the international media--particularly television and magazines--as well as from visiting migrants. These influences are catching the direct critical attention of the Church, and are creating tensions between the generations. Much of the conflict revolves

around the behavior and dress of young women. The extremely popular Portuguese and Brazilian soap operas introduce into Azorean homes each evening ideas about lifestyles and moral codes that are antagonistic to Catholic doctrine and traditional Azorean society. Women and men, young and old, all watch the soap operas, and they disagree over the images that the television episodes portray.

Expanded air travel and special low cost charters have made it fairly easy for migrant families to return to the Azores during the summer months for a visit. The migrants, especially the young and teenage children, bring with them different ideas and values about appropriate dress and behavior, and they make little effort to modify their American customs to appease their Azorean relatives. In the summer of 1987 it was still fairly easy to categorize individuals, particularly females, who were standing in a group as either locals or migrants, simply by their appearance and mannerisms. But this will become increasingly more difficult to do, as Azorean children and teens more brashly assert their desire to emulate their migrant relatives and the images in the media.

An example of family conflict over women's dress codes and the intervention of the priest was related to me in a letter from Adelia, a 32 year old migrant to Canada. One Sunday morning during her summer 1988 visit to her native Faial, the priest chose as the subject of his sermon the proper dress and decorum for Azorean women. In particular, he expressed his distress about the new habit of women to wear shorts in the village.¹ That

¹ This is truly a new development, because during my fieldwork period I never saw a single rural woman in shorts, although visiting migrants frequently wore them and a very few of the more modern city teenagers wore them over their bathing suits. On Faial, there was a noticeable shift in the dress and demeanor of the secondary school students from the beginning of the fieldwork, in January 1987 to the end, in April 1988. By the second spring, miniskirts and

evening, a heated argument broke out in the home of Adelia's aunt about whether the priest had overstepped his bounds. The bible was brought out and laid on the table. On one side of the debate were Adelia's father (a recently returned migrant) and her male cousin, both of whom felt that the priest had no business concerning himself with such matters and should not have embarrassed an "offending" woman by pointing her out by name. On the other side of the argument was Adelia's aunt Maria, an elderly, traditional woman who felt that the priest was correct with his timely criticism to try to put a stop to the wearing of shorts before the practice became widespread. Women wearing shorts is just the beginning of the type of "moral decay" that the priests and elders see as symptomatic of a changing Azorean society. Already at the city beach local women wear bikinis--but this does not yet occur in Praia das Pedras. While city women and foreigners who frequent the Praia beach on weekends wear skimpy bathing suits, the small percentage of Praia woman who frequent the beach wear modest, one-piece suits.

Maria is considered a bastion of tradition in the village. This is evidenced in her attitudes toward changes that involve women moving away from the doctrines of the Church. Maria is distressed by young women's actions that range from the use of less modest dress, or their disregard for traditional mourning restrictions, to the pursuit of a high school education and lessened concern for marriage and motherhood. Maria's perspective on social change in Faial is not based on stubborn, old-fashioned ideas. Rather, she is an observer of social and economic trends. Maria sees young women

skin-tight, stretchy pants were prevalent. The year before, no such revealing fashion had been used on Faial.

acquiring levels of education that she feels will likely disqualify them for the lives of traditional wives because their prolonged schooling is distracting them from learning the skills necessary for wife- and motherhood, and diverting them from the pursuit of these goals. Maria worries that this will leave young women with few alternatives when they confront the reality of the lack of sufficient employment in the Azores, and are too old or not sufficiently trained in domestic work to be desirable as wives.

What Maria is not recognizing is that the household relations that have characterized her own years of marriage are no longer possible for the younger generations of women, and that they are attempting to find ways to change with and benefit from the larger social and economic changes in the islands. Maria is an authoritative woman who has always wielded considerable power in her household. While she has achieved that power partly from her own force of character and personality, it cannot be ignored that much of her household influence is a product of her traditional role in a functional, complementary division of labor in a subsistence agricultural household. This breaks down with the introduction of widespread wage labor that takes place outside of the village, truly in the public sphere. This is initially engaged in mostly by men, and consequently, the women's household role takes on a secondary character. With the demise in importance of the women's domestic role, the prestige and satisfaction women have traditionally gained through their religious and ritual activities, which are closely integrated with the domestic role, also decline. Other mechanisms must be sought for women to maintain power and influence in the household. This is a process that Maria will not have to participate in, and she finds it difficult to condone the participation of others.

On the subject of artificial birth control, another issue that causes conflict between the Church and its devotees worldwide, Maria takes a progressive position. Maria considers herself a devout, but pragmatic, person: She does not disapprove of young, married women using birth control because, she says, "The Church doesn't feed and clothe our children, so the priests are in no position to tell us we have to have so many." This opinion is widespread in the islands. Rita, a 32 year old mother who goes to mass regularly and attends weekly Catholic study sessions with a group of other young mothers, is also an avid proponent of artificial birth control. Rita's interpretation of Church doctrine condones the use of birth control within a faithful marriage relationship. She says,

It is alright to use the Pill if it is used responsibly by married women. These days it is so expensive to raise children, and we have to find the money for this. Of course the Church does not help us with this, and we are supposed to provide for our children. We want to have fewer children so that we can give them better lives, and the Pope cannot tell us that we cannot do this. However, if the Pill is used for promiscuity, it is sinful and against the teachings of the Church.

Religious interpretation is in the hands of the women in the Azores. The priest, as the official representative of the Church, must adhere to papal doctrine; flexibility on his part is dealt with severely. Conversely, with the female practitioners of Catholicism in the households of the villages, some of whom are illiterate, the oral tradition prevails and personal interpretation is inevitable. As the role of women is taking on new dimensions and losing some of its traditional aspects, the nature of religious interpretation is also changing. Women such as Rita, the young mother and Herminia, the catechism teacher whom I quoted earlier, are interested in broadening their definition of women's place in society. But to resolve the conflicting values

that their modern lives and the Catholic Church represent, they must interpret Church doctrine in a new way. This causes conflicts not only between young women and the priests, but between young women and their female elders. For example, Rita's mother-in-law strongly objects to Rita's attendance at the evening study sessions. Rita says that her mother-in-law disapproves partly because the sessions cause Rita to be away from home in the evening, but also because the phenomenon of adult women formally studying Catholicism is new in the Azores. These unorthodox sessions pose a threat to the older women's traditionally crucial role in the transfer of religious interpretive knowledge from generation to generation.

Traditionally, religious interpretation occurs on two levels: in the privacy of the household and as a normalized consensus that has grown among the elderly women over the years. Removal of religious interpretation from the oral tradition, and its institutionalization as a realm of formal study among adult women, takes religion out of the sphere of the elderly's influence, and puts it in the hands of the educated young. In the effort to make sense of the contradictions between Church doctrine and local interpretation in a changing society, women are subjecting religious issues to formal study. The young women are arriving at different conclusions than do their elders about the importance of ritualistic behavior. Rita, for instance, deplores the elderly women's faithful attendance at *festas*. She sees *festas*, where people sit or stand around "doing nothing" for hours at a time, as a waste of time. Yet for Rita's elders, these *festas* provide one of the few opportunities for the traditional Azorean woman to congregate in the public sphere with her kin and neighbors. The next section is an analysis of several important festas on Faial and Pico, and their function in solidifying community solidarity in

general while they bring women's traditional domestic roles into the public sphere of activity.

Festas and Religious Interpretation

In the first chapter, rural Azorean society was described as insular, *fechado*, with daily activity of both women and men oriented away from the public sphere, and toward completion of work tasks and seclusion in the domestic domain. Villagers' opportunity for informal social interaction are limited to brief encounters during the day. However, as individual Azoreans belong to a particular household, all households relate to their inclusion in the larger sociopolitical units of village, parish, island, region, and country. As physical mobility in the Azores is limited for the majority by hilly terrain, expanses of ocean, sporadic or costly public transportation, and little free time, Azoreans' identification with village and parish is more concrete than with the larger, more emotionally distant units. Victor Turner writes,

In celebration, then, much of what has been bound by social structure is liberated, notably the sense of comradeship and communion, in brief, of *communitas*; on the other hand, much of what has been dispersed over many domains of culture and social structure is now bound . . . in the complex semantic systems of pivotal, multivocal symbols and myths. . . . The objects selected for the exhibition are, in the main, just such many-layered symbols. And they emerge from and vitally emblemize the *communitas*, the joyous shared flow or solemn communion released by passing into the liminal, "betwixt-and-between" state intervening between the "safe" but dull domains of routinized and classified life. (Turner 1982:29)

Most Azorean *festas* are outgrowths of Catholic ritual. This is to say, the initiative for most *festas* is an event of the religious calendar. Some, like Christmas and Easter, remain predominantly family events. After the mass

and a small, poorly attended procession, villagers return to their individual homes or congregate in extended family groups for a festive meal. These are *festas* of the private sphere, and function little to disturb the normal relationships in Azorean society. Conversely, other *festas* such as the miracle of February 2nd, the Patron Saint's Day, *Carnaval*, and the *Espírito Santo* are outstanding periods in the Azorean calendar because they are a time for reconfirming one's solidarity with the community of one's village, parish, or sometimes, island. They are extensions of Catholic ritual in that they begin with a solemn mass, but proceed with such profane elements of celebration as an elaborate procession and public feasting, dancing or music. Following is a list of the most prominent religious and secular *festas* celebrated on Pico and Faial.

Table 6.1
Principal *Festas* on the Azores Islands

| <i>Festa</i> | Time Period | Type of Celebration |
|-------------------------------|------------------|--|
| Christmas Day | December 25 | Mass, Family dinner |
| Viewing of <i>Presépios</i> * | Dec. 25 - Jan. 1 | Trips around island |
| New Year's Day | January 1 | Mass, Family dinner, Community dances, Gatherings to hear traveling musical groups |
| <i>Matança do Porco</i> | Winter | Family gathering for weekend pig slaughter |
| February 2 | February 2 | Commemoration mass and Procession to mark salvation from an impending volcanic deluge in the early 1700s |

Table 6.1 Continued

| <i>Festa</i> | Time Period | Type of Celebration |
|----------------------------|--|---|
| <i>Carnaval</i> | Month preceding Lent | Village dances and private parties |
| Easter Sunday | Spring | Mass, Family dinner, Gift giving of sweet breads |
| <i>Espírito Santo</i> | Period beginning 7 weeks after Easter through late Sept. | Masses, Communal feasts, Musical performances by the <i>Filarmónica</i> and community gatherings, Gift giving of sweet breads |
| <i>Expectáculo</i> | late May | Talent show and exhibition put on by students of the Continuing Education program |
| São João | June 25 | Family picnics and Bonfires |
| <i>Semana do Mar</i> | August | Sea Week festival on Faial with dances, exhibitions and musical performances |
| <i>Todos os Santos</i> | November 1 | Gift giving of chestnuts |
| Village Patron Saint's Day | Variable by village | Mass and afternoon gathering with performance by <i>Filarmónica</i> |

Note: *Large scale, detailed dioramas of religious or secular Azorean scenes created each year by individual villagers or institutional groups.

For traditional women who are identified with the private sphere of the household to an even greater extent than men, *festas* are an important mechanism of temporary exit from the confines, but not the concerns, of the domestic domain. Women join with each other in the preparation and performance of the *festa* celebrations, but remain throughout as representatives of their household. Whether the particular *festa* requires women to labor communally in the preparation of festival foods for distribution, present their young people as potential marriage partners, or display their skills in the non-traditional setting of the secular *festas* recently established by the Continuing Education program of the school system, women are essential actors in the celebratory union of households. *Festas* that serve as public "rites of intensification" in the yearly festival calendar are the subject of the following sections.

Festas of Communality

In the Azores, as in continental Portugal, a common source of conflict between the Catholic Church and the parishioners concerned the appropriate way of celebrating religious *festas*. Cutiliero (1971) makes a distinction between the two types of religious expression--Church ceremonies and profane celebrations--and notes the importance to the villagers of southern Portugal of keeping them separate. "There is a clear distinction between what takes place in the church or under its guidance and what does not" (Cutiliero 1971:254). However, many celebrations that initially take place under the Church's authority, expand later in the day into the realm of local, "profane" interpretation. Consequently, the Church particularly disapproves of the festivities that follow the church processions. Riegelhaupt (1973) maintains that the important religious festivals in continental Portugal and Spain are of

a communal, community oriented nature. Historically, the priests have refused to participate in them, and the Church has continually attempted to suppress their observance. Riegelhaupt argues that the reason for the Church's opposition is ostensibly because of the festivals' inclusion of pagan activities, but that the real reason is that the basis of the festivals is in direct defiance of the atomistic principles of post-Trentian Catholicism. Post-Trentian Catholicism rejects communal observance. Rather, the stress is placed on each individual's relationship with God. And it is exactly for this reason that the particular festivals in question are so popular. Where most aspects of Portuguese life are conducted on an individual, household, or at the most, extended-family basis, the *festas* celebrate the community and the subtle, emotive ties among the villagers. Catholicism was the backbone of Salazar's regime, and the religion's individualist orientation, laid out three and a half centuries earlier at the Council of Trent, was an important mechanism by which Salazar maintained control over the population. Communal activities that lay outside of Salazar's carefully constructed corporate structure, whether religious or secular, were discouraged and at times actively prohibited. The local priest, an outsider in the the continental Portuguese community, doubled as an officer of the law and was even known to denounce disobedient parishioners (Riegelhaupt 1973).

The Azores has historically been a target of the Church's displeasure in terms of local religious practice. This attitude has been exacerbated because the local priests have in many cases been allied with the people against the Church. The very early Counter-Reformation clergy and bishops in the Azores were usually supplied from continental Portugal (Higgs 1979), but the island outposts were not seen as desirable positions. Consequently, the Azores began gradually producing their own, island-born priests. However,

the bishops continued to be from the continent. Thus, an important difference between the situation in continental villages and Azorean villages during Salazar's regime was that the village priests in the Azores were not outsiders. Unlike the transplanted priests in the continental villages, Azorean priests were usually born in the parish that they served. Kin relations in the community inhibited the antagonistic behavior that the Church was able to encourage on the continent. Azorean priests' loyalties to the politics of the Church and the state may have been compromised by their own family loyalties.

In the Azores, then, it is the bishop who has been, and remains, the outsider. Since the first settling of the islands, the Azores have had a colorful history with respect to the people's conflicts with the bishops over religious interpretation and performance. The village priests have always been in the thick of the dispute, and in past centuries have even been imprisoned for siding with the islanders. To this day, Azorean priests are active participants in the community oriented *festas*. Currently, the priests have relatively little to criticize the people for because of the restrained nature of Azorean *feira* celebrations. At *festas*, the use of fireworks and rockets is rare, drinking is limited, and dancing, when it occurs, is controlled. However, this has not always been so. The *feira* that best exemplifies the conflict between the Church (outsiders: the bishop) and religious practice (insiders: Azorean priests; parishioners) is the *Festa Do Louvor do Divino Espírito Santo* (Festival in Praise of the Divine Holy Spirit). Briefly, the festival originated in the early fourteenth century on the continent as a creation of Queen Isabel, wife of Dom Dinis (1279-1325). An important component of the celebration was the distribution of food and alms to the poor. The first settlers of the Azores brought with them the practice of celebrating the *Espírito Santo* in an

elaborate, communal, redistributive way. This grew in popularity on the islands, but has almost completely died out on the continent.¹ Through the centuries, the Church has attempted to wipe out the communal and profane aspects of Azorean *Espírito Santo* celebrations--and has gone as far as forbidding the priests to attend, prohibiting the women from creating new *Espírito Santo* centers (*impérios*), and imprisoning disobedient priests and parishioners (*Arquivo dos Açores* III; Higgs 1979). Gradually, the more outlandish and overtly profane elements have been eliminated from the *feita* performance and celebration, such as the participation of many dancing drummers, called *folias*.² However, it is important to note that the communal and redistributive aspects of the *Espírito Santo* have persisted. These are the focal components of the festival in the Azores today. As Freeman (1970:46) found in Spain,

The social pleasures of feasting have in many instances led people to pursue these traditions in an era in which the cooperative redistribution of meat is no longer a necessity. There are fewer auctions and feasts on Valdemora's calendar today than there were in the last century, but we can see in them the traces of redistributive processes.

This is particularly significant to a study of women's roles, because Azorean women are completely responsible for the direction and

¹ Riegelhaupt (1973) refers to a Holy Ghost *feita* listed in church scrolls for the years 1779 and 1899, but she makes no mention for such a *feita* for the year of her fieldwork, 1961. Ethnographies of continental Portuguese villages do not mention the existence of an *Espírito Santo feita*, and in response to my inquiries on the continent, I was told that celebration of the *Espírito Santo* is very rare.

² The *folias* appear to have their origins in the medieval period, and bear a strong resemblance to the magicians and wizards of ancient Celtic druid mythology and to elements of Greek superstition who appear in Christian mythology as magicians and wizards (Harder 1989).

performance of the communal aspects of the *Espírito Santo* and other *festas*. The *Espírito Santo festa* is still a form of levelling mechanism, and the family of the *mordomo* (ideally) provides all the funds for the *festa*, and the wife of the *mordomo* oversees the purchases and preparation.

Ironically, increased incorporation into capitalism in the Azores is rapidly achieving what the Church hierarchy was unable to accomplish after centuries of effort. This can be seen in the contrast between celebration of the *Espírito Santo* on Faial and Pico. Pico's residents are less involved in wage labor than are residents of Faial, and the *festa* of the *Espírito Santo* involves considerably more communal participation on Pico than it does on Faial.¹ On both islands, secular *festas*, such as the yearly *matança do porco* (pig slaughter), are becoming increasingly privatized where they once were communal. During Salazar's time, communally oriented activities were discouraged by the state, but out of economic necessity they were more common than they are today. The *matança* was done on a rotational basis during the Salazar years, with all the households on a section of a street, for instance, helping in the slaughter, salting the meat and preparing the sausage. Now that most households own deep freezers, the meat is packaged and stored fresh-frozen, and there is little need to share with the neighbors. While the *matança* is still a *festa* within the family, the communal aspect is greatly diminished, and people attend far fewer each year. The *matança* had been a major source of entertainment for everyone, and particularly for women who do not generally encounter their neighbors on a social basis. I further discuss the *matança*, how it differs on Faial and Pico, and how it is changing in Chapter 5, which deals with the division of labor by gender in the household.

¹ This point becomes more explicit in the following sections.

The Parish Bands: Mechanisms of Gender Exclusion and Inclusion

As Costa (1987) and de Oliveira Martins (1985) point out, the performance of *festa* celebrations varies from island to island, and even within islands. "There is no uniformity. Each loves and serves God as he knows how to, how the Spirit wants" (de Oliveira Martins 1985:128). Where Church doctrine is relatively constant, religious practice is subject to local interpretation. Nevertheless, there are some generalizations that can be made about their major elements. The main component that distinguishes an important *festa* mass from a more common one is the presence of the parish band, the *filarmónica*. The band is an institution of the public sphere, and as such has functioned as a sort of secular men's brotherhood. Although secular, it is of extreme importance to local religious practice, and so enjoys high popular support by women as well as men. The first bands were established about 100 years ago, with the tradition of older band members informally training the young boys of the parish to read music and play one or more instruments.¹ This was no small accomplishment considering the high degree of illiteracy that has characterized the Azores Islands.² This

¹ In one parish on Faial,

the Filarmónica was started by a resident canon from the Algarvian city of Faro and two school masters. The transference of this cultural form from the high echelons of European culture to the small villages involved mediators to provide the cultural interpretation. In this sense the school masters were appropriate purveyors of this new cultural form. . . . Funding the *Filarmónicas* and purchasing the instruments was a major problem at the beginning and the bands had to rely on the private donations of individuals and remittances from America. (Harder 1989)

² See Chapter 3 for literacy figures.

socialization process is predicated on the oral transmission of specialized knowledge, beginning when the boy is quite young. In traditional Azorean society, it was not possible for women to be included in this structure. However, with so many men now holding wage labor jobs while they continue to raise cattle and subsistence crops, they no longer have time to individually tutor the children. Potential band members learn to play their instruments at school and in organized, after-school sessions run by the Continuing Education (*Educação Permanente*) branch of the public school system. This change lessens the exclusivity of music knowledge, and it opens the door for girls to learn to play instruments. By now, most parishes have at least a few young female band members.

The parish band is exceptionally important to Azoreans as it is a symbol of pride and unity for the parish. The women utilize the band's broad range of activities as a means to gain increased access to legitimate social outlets. As a counterpart to the villagers' religious association with the parish church and *impérios*, the band serves as a secular, emotional center and is the popular representative and emissary of the community. The band travels to perform at *festas* in other villages, and renowned bands travel to other islands and even to Azorean migrant communities in the United States and Canada. The bands are always accompanied by a large contingent of home villagers. Thus, even for villages where women are still excluded from band membership, women benefit from the band's widespread activities. The mobility of the parish band is useful to women in expanding their list of legitimate social outlets within the home island throughout the year. When a village band is playing at a *feira* in the city, an otherwise off-limits *feira* for a village woman and her daughter becomes appropriate for their attendance. Further, women who are personally associated with a band from another

village or a city neighborhood, via a kin relationship to one of the members, receive automatic legitimacy of passage should they decide to attend an event in "alien" territory. For example, at two different *Espírito Santo festas* in urban neighborhoods, I met an older, traditional woman from Praia, seemingly unescorted by any male members of her nuclear family. She was quick to explain that her youngest daughter's fiancé, who was also the brother of her older daughter's husband, was playing in the band. Had this not been so, the woman would have stayed at home on those beautiful summer evenings.

In Praia das Pedras, women who rarely leave the village have made trips with the band to many of the other islands and to the United States. It is usually relatives of the band who make the trip. This is not a particularly exclusionary arrangement, because most villagers are related to at least one band member. However, unrelated members of the village are also invited, and women go with their family groups. They charter the ferry for a special, unscheduled trip just for their group, and hire a bus to transport them on the island that they are visiting. Expenses are greatly reduced because of the communal nature of the outing. While some Azorean families do go to North America to visit relatives, organizing a trip to another island for simple pleasure, in the absence of an official agenda, is something that visiting migrants sometimes do, but is rarely done by local Azoreans. The *feira* and the invited band in combination, then, provide the sole mechanism for many Azorean women to make a sightseeing trip to even a nearby island.

Church Processions and *Festa* Celebrations as Religious Practice

As mentioned earlier, Azorean *festas* range from poorly attended, solemn Church masses, to large processions and public celebrations. The

distinction largely surrounds how faithful the *festa* remains to the individualism of Catholic Church doctrine, and whether the *festa* takes on the community-wide importance of a rite of solidarity. It is the latter type that contribute to an understanding of women's traditional public roles. Following a brief note about the procession that is part of all religious *festa* celebrations, four important *festas* are examined. They are presented according to their increasingly specific sphere of influence and participation.

Organization of the processions

When the band is present at an event in its home village, impressively garbed in starched summer or winter uniforms and caps, it marks the occasion as one of importance. After a typical *festa* mass, the band leads the procession. Behind the band come the red-vested members of the all-male Holy Ghost Society (*Sociedade do Espírito Santo*) who bear the religious image on a platform, and behind this select group comes the mass of parishioners, made up mostly of women. The number of people who participate in the procession, and in particular, the percentage of the men who join the women in procession depends on the importance of the occasion to the community. Solely Church oriented *festas*, as opposed to community-based *festas* do not draw a large crowd. The Christmas and Easter Sunday procession, for example, are little more than a thin line of women and a few men. These holidays are celebrated in accordance with the dictates of the Church--privately, within the home, in the company of the extended family at the most. Conversely *festas* of community solidarity draw large crowds, and it is to an examination of these that I now turn.

An island-wide *feira*: - February 2nd

The February 2nd mass that commemorates salvation from near disaster on a day in the second decade of the 1700s¹ draws participants from all over Faial and Pico. On that day, lava pouring from the Pico volcano failed to cross the channel and inundate Faial when the people of Praia das Pedras ran down to the beach and prayed for the lava flow to stop. This *feira* is more than a celebration of community--the circumstances of its establishment facilitate an unusual occasion of island-wide solidarity. The *feira* draws men and women from all over the island to the Praia mass and procession, even if it falls on a weekday. During our second February in the Azores we were on Pico where we found that the commemoration was also celebrated at a single location by people from all over the island. There, the commemorative mass takes place in a shoreside community of small, stone, wine-making workshops (*adegas*), which is virtually deserted during the winter months. But for February 2nd the community comes alive with people and activity. Being a wine-producing community, the Pico location facilitates a more festive type of celebration than does the sober atmosphere of Praia das Pedras on Faial. The *adega* owners open their doors to their relatives and friends, which means that small clusters of men can be seen inside each one drinking tiny glasses of the owner's special wine, *aguardente*, *angelica* or brandy. It is rare to see children in the streets of Azorean villages, but on this day they run wild through the dirt streets past the red doors of the black and white spotted stone buildings that are so typical of Pico. After mass, women walk in small

¹ There is no consensus among Azorean residents or in the literature as to the exact date of the eruption, but it is thought to have occurred around 1716.

groups, handing out religious cards and carrying cakes and the traditional sweet bread, *massa sovada*, to be auctioned off on the porch of the church.

We set off about midday from Santarosa, where we lived, to see the *feira* procession. The *feira* was being held about fifteen kilometers around the curve of the island. On Pico there is even less efficient bus service than on Faial, and walking long distances for necessary trips such as to the store or the doctor's office is common, even among the elderly, although people never take aimless walks for pleasure. So we were surprised to meet a group of three women from Santarosa, gaily dressed, just arriving home from the direction of the *feira*. These were women who rarely left their houses except when it was necessary in the performance of their domestic or agricultural chores, or to attend the local church. But the women had risen even earlier than usual in order to take care of the more pressing domestic work before they dressed and began the long walk to the *feira* mass around eight a.m. They make the trip every year, without their husbands, as a sort of a pilgrimage. They go for the mass, and at its conclusion return home on foot, not waiting for the bus which does not pass by until late afternoon. They miss the afternoon events in order to get home to complete their domestic work. The special mass provided a morning out that broke the routine of the normal day, and was legitimately accomplished as the occasion traditionally calls people to congregate from all over the island. They did not see their having to return early as a sacrifice, because as the afternoon activities revolve around wine-drinking in the *adegas*, there is little reason for women to remain long after the mass. By the time of the procession in late afternoon, there were very few women left in the village, only those who were to take part in the long, slow procession that would round one quarter of the island.

A village *festa*: the Patron Saint's Day

The Patron Saint's Day of the village is a community-oriented festival, and is commonly celebrated with a morning mass and an afternoon *festa* in the village square. Streamers and banners of the religious brotherhood festoon the square and the streets leading to the church. Typically, the band plays all afternoon--everything from marching tunes to classical waltzes and popular pieces--but it is more for listening than dancing. The women of the village sell snack foods that they have prepared in order to raise funds to pay the band a nominal fee. Beer and brandy are for sale, but few men drink. At this outdoor celebration the women and men stand around in segregated groups, talking little, mostly listening to the music. At one Patron Saint's Day *festa* in Praia that was very poorly attended, the people who did attend later complained that it had not been a good *festa*--it was *triste*, sad. They attributed this to the decision to hold the *festa* on the church grounds rather than in the village square. As in the distinction between the Church and "religious practice" (Riegelhaupt 1973) or between Church ceremonies and profane celebrations (Cutiliero 1971), there are those activities that are best carried out in the Church, and those that are not. The mass for the Patron Saint falls under the first category, but the afternoon festivities, a local manifestation of religious practice, was better off celebrated away from the Church. It is unclear how the decision to hold the *festa* in the Church yard came about--some thought it was at the request of the priest--but even the women were in agreement that the decision had been a bad one.

The evaluation of the *festa* exemplifies the Azorean notion of *triste*, which is intimately connected to people, population, and migration, and seems to affect women more than men. Nearly every Azorean family has relatives in North America, and it is the absence of relatives at *festa* times

that will cause the event to be evaluated as *triste*, regardless of the resources, preparations and practical outcome of the particular event. Pico has experienced even more severe depopulation due to emigration than has Faial, and for this reason no Faialense can understand how anything that happens on Pico can be other than *triste*. We were warned of this fact by many people when we announced our plans to move our residence from Faial to Pico just before the Christmas season.

Social status and modernity in a *feira* setting: *Carnaval*

Restrained as *feiras* are in the Azores, in comparison to celebrations in continental Portugal or elsewhere, Azoreans look forward with anticipation to festival days. The first *feira* "season" of the year is *Carnaval*. The nature of the *Carnaval* celebrations changes in the Azores according to the social status of the participating group, and each type of celebration can be seen to represent a different ideology about the boundaries of women's place in society.

Village community dances. When we arrived on Faial in January, we were advised time and again that wild times were soon to come in the form of all-night *Carnaval* dances. In the Azores, people start the season early, and begin celebrating *Carnaval* a full month before the onset of Lent. In Praia das Pedras on Faial, a dance is held in the community center hall, the *Filarmonica*, each of the four Saturdays before Ash Wednesday, as well as the Friday through Tuesday nights just prior to Ash Wednesday. The dances generally start around 9:30 or 10:00 pm, and last until dawn. The *Carnaval* dances provide another example of where profane celebrations conflict with church ceremonies in the Azores. The *Carnaval* season culminates with an important dance Tuesday night, which theoretically breaks up before the

onset of Lent at midnight. But each year, to the consternation of the village priests, the Tuesday night dances run their full course until the early morning hours. Around mid morning on Wednesday, after five long nights of *Carnaval* dances, Faialense attend their village church mass, or travel to the city to witness the reenactment of the washing of the feet of Christ at the main cathedral.

Carnaval functions in the Azores, particularly in the rural villages, as a means of legitimate social gathering, and it is most important in this respect for the women. Azorean winters can be cold, windy and rainy, and people who are normally shut into their homes due to social prescription are especially confined during the winter months. *Carnaval* is a time to dress up and be seen, and *Carnaval* provides a reason to congregate in a social setting. In the past, *Carnaval* provided one of the most important settings for young people to talk and dance with each other under the watchful eyes of their elders. Marriages were most often endogamous within the village, and frequently within the extended family, but while potential marriage partners may have known each other since birth, they may have had little interaction as they grew up. Riegelhaupt (1984:103) assessment of the traditional function of *festas* applies well to the Azorean case:

One must . . . go beyond viewing the social activities that occur at the festa as only 'entertainment' or 'immoral'. For there was an important social purpose to these activities, namely, the opportunity for young people to meet, to court, and for marriage arrangements to be concluded.

The role in courtship of the intense sequence of dances, and the chaperone role of the elders has been made almost obsolete since the revolution. Now that many young people are attending secondary school and many are also

working in the cities, their opportunities to associate with the opposite sex are much greater than they were even for their parents. And due to out-migration, in some villages there just are not very many people of marriageable age.

Villagers who are accustomed to attending the village dances try not to miss a single one. Men and women remain separated throughout the evening, except when a couple is actually dancing. Dressed in their somber, Sunday best the women spend the hours immobilized, sitting along the side walls on the three rows of hard benches placed there for their use. In the Azores, social relationships are kin based, and female relatives cluster together on the same section of a bench. At our first dance in the *Filarmonica* hall, we entered at the back and stood for a few moments looking around. Before long, an elderly woman in our family spotted us and began feverishly motioning from across the room for me to come over to the bench where she was seated. She had saved a space for me next to her that was the width of her leather handbag, and I was expected to occupy that space from the time I arrived until it was permissible to leave, some six hours later. A hired dance band was playing on the stage at the front of the hall and the music was so loud that conversation among the seated women was impossible. After three or four hours of this, some of the older women began to nod off. Indeed, their traditional job of surveillance over the young people has dwindled to next to nothing, with only one unattached young woman in the family.

Throughout the dance, men remain standing in the back of the hall, in the entranceway, and outside on the porch. There is a small room located out of the way of normal traffic, where brandy and wine is sold, but there is little drinking. In the center of the hall is the dancing. Men periodically navigate their way through the crowds to where the women are sitting to ask their

wives, or if they are unmarried, their cousins and other single girls, to dance. The couple might dance a few dances in a row, but immediately upon finishing the woman returns to her seat by her female relatives. An unmarried girl, looking somewhat embarrassed, will turn briefly to her aunts after taking her place in the first row of benches, and then sit, silently looking at the dance floor, waiting. The dance is a variation of a waltz called the *chamarrita*. It incorporates a controlled step-hop movement as the couple turns in tight circles. Two or three times during the night decorum temporarily breaks down when the band plays a typical Brazilian *Carnaval* song that throws the entire group of dancers into a semi-coordinated frenzy as they form a long snaking line, hands to the shoulders of the dancer in front. Everyone seems to know what to do, having learned the dance from the Brazilian television programs and the elaborate *Carnaval* events that are televised from Lisbon.

The modern, private *Carnaval* party. Not all village residents attend the village dances. Among those who do not are those villagers who are marginalized from the traditional mainstream of the village, such as return migrants whose migrant experience was unsuccessful, those who do not have ancestral roots in the village and only settled there recently, and those who have commercial businesses in the village such as restaurants and bars. These people attend dances in other, larger villages, or have their own, private parties. Sometimes these private parties are scheduled on a night when there is no village dance so that villagers who want to can attend everything.

The modern trend is for males and females to be seated together at small, nightclub-style round tables. This is the arrangement at the urban community centers and at the private parties of the "modern" villagers.

Family or work groups sit together at the tables, talking and consuming the food and drink that they bring with them. Just as non-relatives do not share meals in private homes, nor do they share the snack food that they bring to the parties. Deportment at these private *Carnaval* parties is less formal than at the village community dances, and so some people consider these parties much more fun. At the private parties, about half the guests come in modest, low-keyed fantasy costumes, wine and brandy are consumed more liberally, and the dancing to records is considerably livelier, with more reliance on Brazilian tunes. This type of party is a partial imitation of the dances that are held in the city.

Urban community dances. At the urban community centers, the counterpart to the village *Filarmónica* halls, attendance is more selective in that tickets are sold in advance and admission is limited by the table arrangements. One of the better dance bands on the island is hired for this event and unlike in the village, almost everyone dances at some time during the night. Beverages are on sale in a room down the hall, and the preferred drink is an Azorean produced, passionfruit (*maracujá*) flavored soft drink. At one dance, the atmosphere created by the olive green walls of the room, the tiny round tables, and the orderly guests, both men and women dressed in conservative, dark wool suits, was reminiscent of what I would have expected to find in the dance halls of the upper class of Salazar's Portugal some forty or fifty years earlier. However, the guests at this ball were not the urban elite, but the urban working class.

The representatives of the elite strata of Azorean businessmen and professionals were to be found at the elegant, exclusive *Club Amor da Pátria*. This is a private members' club. High initiation and annual fees are charged, but its exclusivity extends beyond financial barriers. It is the club of Faial's

traditional elite, and is selective about which new applicants it will admit. Since the revolution, there have been return migrants and young professionals from poor, rural backgrounds who can easily afford to join the *Club Amor da Pátria*, but who have been denied membership. Some of those Faialense who are not invited to join the *Amor da Pátria* become "free-lance" *Carnaval* celebrants. These are people who do not commit themselves to attending any single dance, but who "crash" as many during the night as they can, particularly in the city. They appear suddenly in the sedate dance hall, men and women dressed in costumes and wildly dancing and singing. They are a part of an upwardly mobile social group: young, professional men and women of poor, rural origin. Despite the odds against them, they persisted in getting at least a partial high school education in the last years of the dictatorship. They were prepared, then, to move into prestigious white collar jobs in the banks, airlines, tourist industry, etc., with the post-revolutionary expansion of the tertiary sector. Excluded from the restrictive *Club do Amor da Pátria* due to their family backgrounds, they have informally, and unofficially, formed their own club. These successful young people can be seen together, elaborately dressed, making the rounds of the city on nights such as *Carnaval* and New Year's Eve. The women, particularly, are making a social statement with their immodest costumes, wild dancing, and otherwise assertive public behavior. The behavior of these young people as a group serves to distinguish them from their peasant elders and identify them with the more liberal, affluent newly arising working class of the Azores.

The Festa em Louvor do Divino Espírito Santo

The second prominent prolonged season of *festa* celebrations on the Azores Islands is the *Espírito Santo*. The first day of *Espírito Santo* falls seven

weeks after Easter Sunday, but the celebrations that take place once a year at each of the numerous *impérios* scattered throughout the islands are spread through the months until late September or early October. Each parish has one to several *impérios*--depending upon the size of the parish population--and a portion of the parish are affiliated with each one, according to the location of their residence. As Costa (1987) notes, each island, and many parishes, have their idiosyncratic methods of celebrating the *Espírito Santo*, but there are some common threads. Every year there is a sponsor of the *Espírito Santo*, called the *mordomo* or *imperador*, who is chosen from one of the families that is affiliated with a particular *império*. The *mordomo* position is officially filled by a male head of household, but his role in the performance of the *feita* is much less significant than is his wife's role. People often identify the *mordomo* household for the *Espírito Santo* by using the wife's name. When asked who the *mordomo* is for the year, a person will reply that the *croá*, the crown, is in the house of *Senhora* _____. The *mordomo's* household has the honor of keeping the silver crown and scepter of the *império*, symbols of the *Espírito Santo*, in their home throughout the year. Ideally, in return for the prestige associated with the *mordomo* position, his household is responsible for providing the other members of the *império* with the traditional feast, the *sopas do Espírito Santo*. Due to economic circumstances, this levelling mechanism sometimes breaks down, but the prescriptive rules of the *Espírito Santo* are sufficiently flexible to allow parishioners who are not among the most wealthy to assume the position of *mordomo*, although they do not go as far as collecting the required monies from the villagers, as is done for communal *festas* on the continent (O'Neill 1987; Riegelhaupt 1973).

The *Espírito Santo*, more than any other Azorean *festa*, is an example of the role of performance in *festa* celebrations. In this performance, women are the principal actors. Ernestine Friedl (1967:101) writes that in Greece, a festival occasion

does involve a change of role for women, and for the period of the holiday, entitles them to privileges similar to, if not entirely equal to those of men.

During the *Espírito Santo* in the Azores, the private/public dichotomy so often described for Mediterranean and southern European societies is turned on its head. Where elsewhere this involves a complete, albeit temporary, status reversal (Turner 1969) and women gain freedom of movement through disguise, in the Azores the liminality is contextual, or spatial. Women perform traditional female activities, but on a different dimension, in an unusual place. It is not quite a role reversal that takes place, because men and women do not seek to exchange identities. Turner (1984:21) writes that "rituals . . . which are public in general orientation, have their liminality in public places. The village greens or the squares of the city are not abandoned but rather ritually transformed." As the spaces of normal activity are ritually altered for the celebrations in Turner's formulation, in the Azores for the *Espírito Santo*, normal activity itself is ritually changed and moved in space. Activities ordinarily performed individually and confined to the private sphere become the focus of public view and community collaboration for the purposes of the *festa*. Cooking, the most private and isolated of domestic activities, is a collaborative, public enterprise during the *Espírito Santo*. And women, rarely seen in the streets of Azorean villages, are highly visible during the *festa* preparations, and are the focus of attention in the performance of the *festa* procession.

The procession. The basic components of the *Espírito Santo* procession are the same on all the islands: the bearing of the *império* crown, and the marching of the parish band. The *Espírito Santo* differs from others *festas* in that the women, rather than the band, lead this procession. The female children of the *mordomo's* household, dressed in white or pastel colored, chiffon dresses, hold the positions of honor during the procession that follows the mass. One of the younger girls carries the crown, and she is enclosed in a square made from four-foot long poles that are held connected at the corners by the other girls. Behind this square walk the remaining women of the household and other female family members, *followed* by the men. Several parish members have their own crowns that they keep in their homes, and their family members join the procession in similar arrangement behind the official *império* crown. At the end, as in all religious processions, walk the general populace. On Pico, the elements of the *Espírito Santo* that reverse the social ordering of society by bringing the private into the public, and placing the women in honored positions, are extended even further than on Faial. Pico is well known in the region for the manner in which the *Espírito Santo* is celebrated, and it draws people from all the nearby islands to witness the elaborate processions.

The *Espírito Santo* celebration at the *império* in Pico's main city, Madalena, is famous throughout the islands for its procession, and the ferry boats that run between Pico and Faial make continuous trips throughout the day to bring people over from Faial. In the early afternoon, prior to the mass, local women begin making their way towards the church which is located across the street from the *império*, with huge round baskets on their heads. These baskets are laden with *rosquilhas*, dry, ring-shaped loaves of bread, about one foot in diameter each. They are piled so high in the baskets that

they must be held in place with colorful satin ribbons. The baskets are lined with hand-made lace-edged linen and anchored in the breads are long-stemmed wild flowers. These creations are the products of almost a week of each woman's effort: some have baked alone in their homes; others have collaborated with neighbors, but all began the baking four to five days prior to the celebration. Since the *Espírito Santo festa* predates the introduction of maize from the New World into Europe, all the *festa* breads are made from wheat. Wheat, once grown in the islands, is now imported, and locally produced corn is the "traditional" grain for daily consumption. The expense of wheat flour makes its use for the *festa* especially festive.

Slowly, but with sure, practiced steps, the women approach the church from all directions with their decorative burdens on their heads. They place the baskets for display on the surrounding stone wall where they will remain throughout the mass. After depositing their baskets, the first part of their performance finished, the women return home until it is time for the mass. Gradually, as the time gets closer to the mass, people fill the town center, filing past the baskets to comment on their beauty.

After the mass, the women of Madalena are once again the center of attention as they retrieve their baskets and form a line on each side of the street in front of the church. Leading the procession on Pico are the *folias*, two men with small drums, beating the time of the walk. In the past there were many *folias*, but since this was one of the many profane aspects of the *Espírito Santo* celebration that the Church strenuously objected to, the role of the *folias* is greatly diminished. Now the women with the bread and the crowns are the focal point of the procession. The long rows of women, some with their husbands walking beside them, make their way past the church, around the back, and once again down through the center of town. Following

the women with the bread are the women and girls with the crowns, and lastly, the band. After the second pass through the town center, the women file into the church yard and place their baskets in rows on the ground. The priest then makes his way in the isle between the baskets, bestowing his blessing on the loaves of bread. When all the loaves have been blessed, the priest and his helpers for the day pass the bread out to the crowd. Every person is supposed to leave the *feira* with a loaf. Although these loaves are a little worse for wear after all they have been through since they were baked earlier in the week, pandemonium breaks out as everyone rushes to the points of distribution to ensure that every member of the every family receives one. In this way the audience becomes part of the performance.

In the smaller parishes, the more time-consuming bread called *vésperas* are still made instead of *rosquilhas*, occasionally, if not every year. These are flat, oval-shaped loaves of wheat breads that are imprinted with pictures of crowns and other symbols of the *Espírito Santo*. In the village of Santarosa, on Pico, each woman is told by the priest how many *vésperas* she must produce, which is calculated by estimating the number of residents and visitors expected to be on hand for the celebration. Santarosa is one of those towns considered *triste*, for lack of population due to out-migration, but the requirement of each woman still came to forty-three loaves each. Making a batch of *vésperas* takes an entire day, and according to one elderly Santarosa woman, it "is annoying to do in the house because flour gets everywhere--on the clothes, on the floors, on the furniture, even on the beds." This is because the *vésperas* must be laid out flat before they are baked, and made in quantity, they cover every flat surface in all the rooms of the house, particularly the bed. Typically, the women of Santarosa have formed informal baking groups to collaborate in their production in order to make one grand mess of only

one of the group member's houses. They take turns through the years. In Santarosa, due to so much emigration, there are usually not enough family members to form a group, and in what would be an unlikely alliance on Faial, for instance, non-kin neighbors form these collaborative groups for the *Espírito Santo*. As much as the women complain about the approaching labor involved in the preparation of the *vésperas*, they are clearly proud of their creations, and of their primary role in the celebration of the *Espírito Santo*.¹

Festa meal preparation. Friedl (1967) writes that in Vasilika it is the men who gain prestige from the skillful performance of a woman's domestic duties, particularly that of food preparation. On the father's Saint's Day, for example, women must serve to the mostly male guests delicacies that they have painstakingly prepared in the privacy of their kitchens. But the women receive no recognition for their excellent hospitality; admittance of guests into the home creates a public atmosphere, which makes the husband the host and automatically transfers to him the prestige normally due women in their homes. Conversely, in the Azores during the *Espírito Santo*, more than just the illusion of a public sphere surrounds women's activities--cooking and even baking to a certain extent, are literally moved into the public sphere. Women garner the associated prestige normally accorded a public sphere activity.

The two most important aspects of the *festa* meal are meat and bread. In recent years, meat, while not eaten daily, is found occasionally on even the

¹ When one baking group heard that I had to leave Pico two months prior to the onset of *Espírito Santo*, they insisted on demonstrating for me the process of baking *vésperas*. They timed their labor to coincide with my departure so they would be able to send some of their breads as gifts to my parents (whom they had never met). They distributed the rest of the breads to selected relatives and neighbors as gifts.

poorest table. Many Azoreans eat pork or beef frequently, as fish is not as plentiful on the local market as it was in the past, and greater prosperity allows most rural households to raise a pig and cow for yearly slaughter. But prior to and during Salazar's regime, many Azoreans tasted meat only once a year in the special *feita* soup prepared communally for consumption at the *império* on the day of the *Espírito Santo* celebration. Even now, the *sopas do Espírito Santo* are a highly regarded specialty of the season, consisting of buttered wheat bread floating in a bowl of rich beef broth, followed by huge helpings of boiled beef, kale and potatoes. The meal is accompanied by red wine, and is usually concluded with a plate of rice pudding and slices of *massa sovada*, a sweet, golden-colored wheat bread.

Massa sovada, baked only for the period between Easter and the end of the *Espírito Santo* season, plays an important part in the animation and sociability of village women that is characteristic of the *Espírito Santo*. Women bake the bread repeatedly in order to keep a ready supply in the house, and they offer a plate laden with thick slices to anyone who comes to the door. It is considered bad manners not to eat several pieces. This is very different from other times of the year, when food is not commonly offered to casual visitors. Also, the breads are used to solidify reciprocal relationships within the extended family, and sometimes with neighbors, as packages of the bread are sent out to selected households. Whereas normally only one woman in a household group bakes the staple cornbread, a woman in virtually every individual household bakes the *massa sovada*. A woman, for example, will be sure to send her bread over to her mother-in-law across the path, and the older woman will do the same in return. Both women will send breads to the rest of the family households. Their exact recipes vary slightly--the addition of different amounts of sugar, a handful of rye flour, a

touch of almond flavoring. Competition between different women for my pronouncement of their product as the best was fierce, and this type of behavior was unique to the *massa sovada*.

Preparations for the *sopas do Espírito Santo* begin early in the week with the slaughter and butchering of the cow. Under the supervision of the *mordomo's* wife, the women of the *império* prepare the meat and vegetables for the soups which are cooked in large iron cauldrons on the morning of the *feita*. Most of the cooking is done out of doors or in some locale near the *império* that becomes "public" for the occasion--a garage or a *loja*. The center of the village is uncharacteristically alive with activity, as the women move hurriedly between the various cooking locations and the site of the meal. Eating utensils, plates and chairs are borrowed from the households associated with the *império*, and long tables are set in the *império* building, or any nearby convenient shelter if the *império* is too small, which it usually is. Ideally, everyone who is a member of a particular *império* is invited to partake of the *Espírito Santo* feast which takes place in the afternoon. In actuality, many *mordomos* cannot afford the tremendous expense. The members of the band are served their meal immediately following the procession. Afterwards, as many members of the *império* that the *mordomo* can provide for, usually his entire extended family and friends, consume the *Sopas do Espírito Santo* together at the long tables. This is a unique event for Azorean villages, as it is the only truly collaborative cooking or eating occasion during the year.

On Pico there is currently more communality in the preparation of the *sopas* than on Faial. The baking arrangements on Pico are particularly important, since large quantities of the regular wheat bread are needed for the *sopas do Espírito Santo*, and in addition, each male member of the *império*

brotherhood is responsible for providing a certain quantity of *vésperas* or *rosquilhas*. The women make the bread, and as was mentioned earlier, they are more easily produced in an area constructed especially for the purpose. In one parish on Pico in the spring of 1988, the villagers were preparing for the *Espírito Santo* season by building a structure near the main church that would house butchering facilities and several large, traditional bread ovens and soup cauldrons for communal cooking. It was expected that because of the new facilities, the small parish would become well known for its celebration of the *Espírito Santo*. The construction funds were provided by migrants in North America. Donation to a community development project affords migrants multiple returns. They gain prestige throughout their home community by their generosity, without having to actually return migrate. This prestige base can later be improved upon when (and if) they move back to Pico permanently. On another level, migrants' investments in facilities for the maintenance of community religious ritual, means that they have helped to facilitate the perpetuation of the traditions of their youth. *Saudades*, an extreme nostalgia, and particularly *saudades da terra*,¹ longing for one's homeland, plays an important part in Azorean ideology. While migrants live contentedly in North America with their modern appliances and conveniences, they harbor a longing for the simplicity and communality of the past--for the Azores of their selective memories. Thus, on Pico, in the face of the increasing commoditization and individualization of the region, the solidarity of community is being reinforced by migrants' remittances.

Entertainment. Faial differs from Pico in that the draw of the *Espírito Santo festa* is less the afternoon procession than the evening musical

¹ Taken from Frutuoso (1978-1981).

activities. The band sheds its marching qualities and becomes a symphonic group. They set up chairs near the *império*, sometimes on specially constructed platforms, and play music for several hours while people from all over the parish, not just from that particular *império*, stand around listening. To raise funds for the payment of the band, an auction of donated baked goods and some agricultural produce or homemade wine is held. More often than not, the items are iced cakes or *massa sovada*. The women provide most of the goods, a man sells them, and the men in the crowd purchase them. The *império* members hire a professional auctioneer to sell the wares. The auctioneer spends the evening picking from the supply of goods stored in the *império*, and mingles with, teases, and cajoles the crowd to bid for the items. The auction goods always sell out and command impressively high prices. Sometimes a booth is set up that sells cheese sandwiches and shots of brandy. The large crowds that turn out for these events are always quiet and orderly. People come early and stay late, for the *Espírito Santo* is the good weather counterpart to the winter *Carnaval*. It affords the villagers, and especially the woman, a legitimate occasion to be outside socializing with their family and neighbors. Here there is more freedom of movement than at the cramped and structured *Carnaval* dances. Because each *império* has its own celebration, the *Espírito Santo festa* occurs many times within the same parish. Due to the great expense involved, only the members of a particular *império* expect to participate in the consumption of the *sopas*, but all residents of the parish turn out for the evening's musical entertainment. Men are free to attend *festas* in other than their own parish, but it is very uncommon for women to do so unless they have a kin connection with members of the *império*, or members of the band. Since marriage patterns have been predominantly endogamous within the parish, and frequently

within the extended family, the opportunity for women to visit another parish's *festa* is rare.

A Secular *Festa* for the Celebration of Women:

Perhaps the most significant aspect of *festa* participation in an analysis of a changing society is how women's traditional roles in the reproduction of society have been recognized and celebrated through preparation and performance of the *festa* rituals. These roles have served to give women prestige within the restrictive structural and ideological context of traditional Azorean society. But these religious ritualistic roles lose their positive function as the society experiences modernizing influences, and the definition of women's roles takes on a broader meaning.

Harder (1989) argues that the Azores Islands have been integrated into the capitalist world system since their first settling, and there have been boom periods throughout the history of the Azores when the islanders were heavily engaged in production of particular agricultural commodities for the international market. But during the half century of Salazar's regime, they were engaged primarily in subsistence production, and since then they have combined this with cattle production for the market. Also since the 1974 revolution and the country's 1986 entry into the European Economic Community, bureaucratic expansion and economic development on the major islands has afforded increased wage labor opportunities, initially for men, and now, increasingly for women, also. Since women have traditionally led even more secluded lives than men on the Azores, with little interaction or cooperative activity with non-kin, new institutions are being created to facilitate their transition from the private to the public sphere. This change is to become a permanent part of Azorean life, and new,

secular rituals are being created that will not just reinforce women's reproductive roles, like the *Espírito Santo* does, but will help legitimize and celebrate their expanded public roles. Two new, secular *festa* rituals that reinforce women's increasingly emerging nonreligious public identity take place in the context of the Continuing Education program, the *Educação Permanente*: birthday celebrations in the classroom and the end-of-the-term *expectáculo*. They combine elements of the old with elements of the new, but even women's traditional skills are presented in a new way. The Continuing Education program (*Educação Permanente*) of the public school administration is a forerunner in trying to introduce Azorean women to new skills and opportunities, and particularly, new ideas about themselves.

Currently in every parish on seven of the nine islands, classes are taught by local residents in sewing, knitting, lace-making, typing, music and literacy training. Except for the literacy classes, the instructors and students are predominantly women. The classes serve several functions, on a number of different levels. The primary goals of the national program of *Educação Permanente* seem to combine the socialist commitment to equality, with a capitalist orientation toward individual achievement and fulfillment. These objectives are stated in their monthly publication.

No one is so ignorant as to have nothing to teach; nor so learned as to have nothing to learn.

In Continuing Education, Man [sic] is the agent of his own education, developing his individual capacities and participating in the life of the community.

The ultimate end of this process is to permit one to be his own man. (*Caminhão* 1987)

To a certain extent, the *Educação Permanente* program fulfills the stated goals in officially recognizing the value of women's knowledge. The

program employs village women to teach their neighbors, and provides a socially legitimate forum away from the domestic domain for learning and exchange among non-kin rural women. The women gather two or more times a week in an atmosphere of warmth, friendliness and open encouragement that is hard to find in any other arena. This is important in a place where most young, married women who do not work outside the home are confined to their houses, frequently under the critical eye of their mothers-in-law. At the *Educação Permanente* classes there is an attitude of relaxed enjoyment about the women that I did not witness on any other occasion. Their birthday festivities are a new innovation as the village women celebrate in a public setting with other nonkin women. They indulge in certain socially discouraged pleasures such as toasting the birthday woman with a couple of bottles of champagne. Work stops early on those days and the women take time to talk and laugh while consuming the drink, cakes, puddings and other specialty foods that the birthday woman brought for their enjoyment. Then they all go home to prepare dinner for their families. Far from being just another place for women to gossip, as some men disparagingly refer to the classes, these classes give women a sense of community and solidarity that is generally lacking in their secluded lives. This is becoming even more important as the reproductive sphere becomes increasingly privatized with the acquisition of modern domestic appliances and utilities. The classes fill such a necessary role that even unmarried working women, who would be confined to their parents' homes after work on the weekends, fill up the Saturday afternoon classes.

I believe that from the government's perspective, there is more to the underlying goal of *Educação Permanente* than improving the self-esteem of the village women. Firstly, the classes are readying Azorean women to

become producers outside the home. They accustom the women to organize their day, particularly their domestic chores, such that they can be absent from the house, at this point, at least, half a day. Besides the literacy training, two of the courses are aimed specifically at imparting the skills that are useful in the workplace. On the island of Faial, 60% of the wage labor is in the government bureaucracy. Typing has become an essential skill, viewed by young women as an instrument of social mobility. And sewing skills may soon also afford women paid employment if plans for the establishment of export processing factories reach fruition. Many women, in the false anticipation of imitating the lifestyle afforded their female relatives in North American factories, are eagerly awaiting the arrival of the garment factories. Meanwhile, since prices are sky-rocketing in the Azores, women are finding that they must subsidize their husband's meager salary by sewing much of their family's clothing in order to keep them as well-dressed as they like to be. Also, in 1986 there was a plan to establish, with money from the EEC, a work-study program where the women would receive a salary for four hour's work while they learn a productive skill. A shop would be set up to sell the resulting products. This innovative program had not materialized by the time I left in mid 1987.

On another level, the classes serve as a mechanism to organize women who are unaccustomed to extra-domestic cooperation outside of the religious sphere. The organization is from above, and is situated in a hierarchical, corporate-like structure. Yet, women of all ages, from all parts of the sprawling parishes are getting the experience of cooperative interaction outside of the family setting. They participate in communal endeavors such as exhibitions, shows and charitable activities. The *Educação Permanente* program creates an integrated network of rural women that can be easily and

quickly accessed and mobilized through the hierarchy for a particular activity. This type of governmental control, in the Azorean case, is reminiscent of the corporatist structure of the Salazar regime. However, the women's experience in a non-traditional, cooperative, community based environment may facilitate a change in their restricted ideology about a woman's "proper" and "natural" place in society.

The culmination of each year's *Educação Permanente* classes is an elaborately planned *expectáculo* (talent exposition) that takes place in every parish in the spring. Later in the summer, the best acts of each parish are performed during a combined show in the city. The events on the program do not necessarily reflect the content of the classes, but they are meant to entertain as well as show off, in a context that is officially sanctioned by the school administration, the Continuing Education students' particular skills. The events are entirely planned by women, and as women make up the great majority of Continuing Education students, the show is performed almost exclusively by women. Exhibits of the students creations are displayed on the walls, and the students perform folk dances with traditional costumes of their own creation, perform short skits, recite original poems, sing songs, play music, and most astounding of all considering the cultural milieu, model hand-sewn fashions to lively disco music. The members of all the students' families make up the enthusiastic and attentive audience. These events have been going on on Faial for five years, now, but they are still viewed as a unique and exciting experience. The talent show, in a way, mediates between the traditional and the modern, between the elderly and the young, and between men and women.

In a traditional setting (usually the parish *Filarmónica*), the performance is conceived, organized and performed by the village women.

And at the end, the students are individually called up to the stage and are awarded "diplomas" for the completion of a class. Some of the women received two or three certificates. Many of these women did not attend public school for more than four or six years. If there were uneasy moments during the performances, if it seemed to some of the elders that one of the young women got a little carried away in her dance, all appeared to be forgiven by the end with the presentation of diplomas. The women's talent show is rapidly working its way into the yearly ritual and *feira* cycle of the islands. But because it is a distinctly non-traditional event, there is no preconceived social prescription for audience behavior. In fact, the men do not remain aloof to the activities by standing at the back of the *Filarmonica* as they usually do. Rather, they take seats next to their female relatives. The audience exhibits unusual behavior in that they applaud energetically throughout the three and a half hour event. Whereas it is considered bad form to applaud the band or folkloric dance groups because these performances are well-established, time-honored fixtures in Azorean communities and the expertise of the performers is taken as a given, the women's talent show introduces entirely new elements. This is a *feira* as *feiras* have never been known in the Azores before, one expressly designed for the public appreciation of women's skills and accomplishments that either have previously been given no public notice, or are completely new to Azorean society.

Conclusion

Religious practice and ritual have traditionally been the domain of women in the Azores. These must be kept analytically separate from the

Catholic Church, which as a dominating, patriarchal institution, has been associated with fostering women's subordinate position in society. Religious practice and ritual have allowed women increased movement within the constraints of a patriarchal society. And women's importance to the maintenance and perpetuation of the yearly *feira* cycle is recognized and rewarded with an element of public prestige that would be otherwise unattainable in traditional Azorean society. But since women's ritualistic religious participation was based on the importance of their reproductive role, continued activity in this realm may be seen as a liability as women become more integrated into the public sphere of higher education, paid employment, and political participation. Already this can be seen as women increasingly begin to defy the suffocating aspects of Church doctrine that did not affect them in the past. And as secular rituals relating to a broader definition of women's roles become more attractive to young women, rituals that involve women's traditional reproductive labor may become less important, and begin to die out.

Extended education and aspirations for and participation in paid employment are changing not only the nature of ritual practice, but everyday and yearly household productive and reproductive activities. The following chapter examines women's traditional work in the household in the transformation of agricultural produce for use and for sale, and how these activities, the valuation of these activities and the household division of labor is changing due to Azorean's increasing incorporation into the wage labor force.

CHAPTER 7

AGRICULTURE AND PRODUCE TRANSFORMATION FOR HOUSEHOLD CONSUMPTION AND THE MARKET

Introduction

Work, as a category of activity, has been open to varying and subjective definition in the social science literature. This is particularly the case with regard to women's activity. In peasant societies, where the household is the locus of production, there is the least confusion about what constitutes work. Family survival depends on the exploitation of all aspects of family labor. Adults and children, both female and male, contribute to the family's subsistence through their combined efforts in the field and in the home. Household labor is functionally divided by age and by gender. Yet this division, while not arbitrarily arrived at, is less rigid than in other economic arrangements. This is not to say that the division of labor in the household is always equitable: the wives and mothers are responsible for all domestic work as well as periodic fieldwork. It is usually the women of the household who carry the additional burden when child labor is lost to prolonged schooling or the men's household labor is curtailed due to wage work. In addition, the women themselves frequently engage in income generating tasks in the home or outside (Kessler-Harris 1981; Minge-Kalman 1978). The important factor in all this is that in the peasant "family economy" all of these activities performed by women are seen as work and it is recognized that all are

essential to the maintenance and reproduction of the household (Stolcke 1984; Tilly and Scott 1978).

It is impossible to circumscribe peoples activities into strict categories of domestic or public, productive, nonproductive, or reproductive. "The relationship between domestic labour and non-domestic labour is not constant, but is subject to historical determination" (Moore 1988:53). People alter their activities, and the activities themselves change character with economic circumstances and over time. In the peasant subsistence economy, a considerable portion of women's work may occur outside the home: collecting firewood in the forest, doing laundry at the river or village well, etc. Men's work in the fields depends on the use of tools that they make in the home. During agricultural periods of peak labor requirements, or if men are unavailable, women work in the fields. Likewise, after the harvest when increased labor is needed for the initial stages of transformation, men work in the home. Almost everything the family uses is produced by the household. It is the men who primarily work in the production of agricultural crops, but it is the women who ultimately make those products usable. Some argue that transformation of agricultural produce is itself part of agricultural work (Benería and Sen 1986; Deere and León de Leal 1981). Transformation, in this sense, is the final step in production. And since production is a collaborative, household enterprise, taking place within and surrounding the home, productive and reproductive activities are not sharply distinguished or differentially valued. All work by household members is oriented toward the domestic sphere. Even if some household members engage in periodic wage labor, in the peasant family economy the ideological focus is on the maintenance of the household as a unit of production. Everybody works to recreate the "moral/historical level of reproduction" (Deere 1987:50).

But with the change toward increasing participation in wage labor and integration into a consumer economy, the domestic domain takes on a different dimension. The locus of production shifts outside the home and at the extreme end of the spectrum, the domestic domain becomes associated exclusively with reproductive labor. But even in the transitional stages, where as Deere (1987) maintains, the household encompasses multiple class relations, the domestic domain becomes increasingly less a place of production than one of transformation of purchased goods, and the reproduction of the labor force. The more that production is divorced from reproduction and emphasis is placed on the purchase of consumer goods, the less that unpaid reproductive work is valued. Where women's labor in transformation and other domestic activities was once integrally connected to household production, women's unpaid household activities become subordinated to the productive activities performed outside the home and the wages earned from them. The undervaluation of women's labor occurs despite two factors: Women's unpaid domestic labor facilitates the survival of the household by obviating the need to purchase domestic services. And it subsidizes capitalist production which is based on the premise that the wage is not sufficient in itself to maintain and reproduce the labor force (Mallon 1986). The undervaluation of women's work in the home extends to paid productive labor also, thus establishing a justification for the low wages women receive for artisanal and industrial homework (Benería and Roldán 1987; Mies 1982).¹ Alice Kessler-Harris (1981:3-4), in a book aptly entitled *Women Have Always Worked*, summarizes the progression of women's

¹ I explore this issue in detail in the following chapter.

domestic work from a socially essential activity to a vaguely defined, undervalued activity.

In preindustrial societies, nearly everybody worked, and almost nobody worked for wages. But with industrialization, the harness yoking household members together loosened. As production began to move out of the household into factories, offices, and stores, those who got paid for the new jobs were clearly workers. At the same time, the kinds of work women did at home changed dramatically. The remaining tasks of the household, such as caring for children, food preparation, cleaning, and laundering, were not so clearly defined as work. . . . [Women's] home roles appeared as something other than work.

Most rural Azorean households through the Salazar era were characterized by the family economy of household production. Throughout the history of the Azores, some rural men and women have also worked for wages in varying capacities. But wage work did not become widespread, especially among rural people, until after the 1974 revolution. In this and the following chapter, I examine women's work roles, both in reproduction and production, and in the domestic and public spheres. I began this discussion in Chapter 5 where I examined two significant aspects of domestic labor in the context of household dynamics--childrearing and housework. This chapter deals primarily with agriculture and food processing, both unpaid and paid. I have reserved examination of labor involved in the production of non-agricultural products, and nondomestic work done for cash income or wages for the next chapter. While this division is not without problems, it allows me to demonstrate how each type of activity has changed, historically, and at the same time maintain linkages between the different categories of women's work.

Agricultural Labor: A Portuguese Regional Comparison

Land on the Azores Islands is predominantly held in what is known as minifundia, and for this reason the Azores are often compared to northern Portugal. But despite the similarities in land tenure, the islands have their own set of customs and cultural patterns that differ markedly from all of the Portuguese continental regions. This needs to be highlighted, because it is too often assumed that the Azores are the same as one or another region of continental Portugal. A significant example is the role of women in agricultural work. In northern Portugal in the district of Braga, Dias (1981) observed in the 1940s that women as often as men sowed the lands, but it was the men who usually did the tilling unless they were sick or absent from the house in which case the women took over the task. Both Joaquim (1985) in the northern district of Viseu, and Brettell (1986) in the Minho region, noted that the strong tradition of male out-migration from the area to France and other European countries has caused women to frequently take sole responsibility (with the help of young children) for their household's agricultural production. In addition, women in northern Portugal work as paid field laborers as well. A journey by train through northern Portugal will bring you right through people's agricultural lands, and the sight of a lone woman working with simple tools in a field is recurrent.

In southeast Portugal, where Cutileiro (1971) researched an ethnography in the mid 1960s, latifundia was the prevailing system of land tenure and male outmigration to other countries occurred less than from northern Portugal. But families were often split apart as the husband worked on one plantation and the wife and children worked on another. Men were the primary agricultural laborers and women worked for wages in the fields

for particular periods of time during the year, when the tasks to be done, relating for example to the harvest, were considered "women's work."

In contrast on the Azores Islands, a household's small landholdings are scattered throughout the parish, and are for the most part held and worked corporatively by members of the extended family, particularly those in the same household group.¹ Most production is for household use, as it is rare for an Azorean household to sell fruit and vegetables at market. However, exchange of agricultural goods within the family is common. In general, adult, married and unmarried male children are responsible for the bulk of the agricultural field work along with their fathers and uncles. Men in the same household group plant the vegetable crops communally, contributing their labor as their schedules permit. In recent years where many men on Faial hold wage labor jobs in the city, women are still not taking over more of the field work, and agricultural work is left for the weekends. Weekend work is a distinctive break from the past when work on the land was not done on Sundays. The Sunday work abstinence can still be observed on Pico, where fewer men are engaged in wage labor and so are free to work on their land during the week. I was told that it was alright to harvest enough of a particular vegetable for the day's meal, but actual agricultural labor was not seen as proper on Sundays. Also on Pico, due to the high level of past and recent out-migration, a widowed, divorced or abandoned woman may have no recourse to calling on male relatives to provide agricultural labor, and will have to do it themselves. Lopes (1980) wrote that in the 1940s in the Azores, it was uncommon to see a woman working alone in the field. This is still for the most part true today, although

¹ See Harder (1989) for a detailed analysis of the structure of Azorean landholdings.

the lack of available male labor at times results in women doing the household's agricultural fieldwork. Women have always participated in field work with the men during the peak times of labor necessity--planting and harvesting--and this continues to the present. But the changing nature of agricultural production, out-migration of younger family members, and increasing participation in wage labor are beginning to affect changes in the traditional agricultural labor patterns, including the gender division of labor. While the Azorean case does not yet approximate the northern Portugal pattern, changes are occurring where elderly women and younger non-wage working women are taking on additional fieldwork tasks.

Crop Production and Cattle

To begin with, agricultural production is not as labor intensive as it was in the past, despite the fact that most Azoreans still use the same simple, wooden plows and other farm tools that have been used on the islands for five and a half centuries. In the past, many households on Faial and Pico grew wheat for export out of the islands. This cash crop was cultivated in abundance for sale, and thus must be distinguished from the current principle crop on the islands, corn. Corn is grown in quantities sufficient only for household consumption, and it is used primarily in the form of the dietary staple, bread. Conversely, wheat was grown partially for home use, but primarily for its exchange value. Wheat production was, in this way, an activity of the public sphere. Women's labor was necessary during the time of threshing, which took place first in the fields, and later on a large, round cement slab constructed somewhere nearby the house. Wheat production and sale was men's work. Women helped. Conversely, corn is produced for its use value and so corn production is associated from the start with the

domestic domain. Again, men take primary responsibility in the fields, and women's labor is necessary at times of peak activity. However with corn, the necessary processing is a multi-faceted job, and women have gained prestige in the household because of this responsibility. Men assist when extra labor is needed.

Now, few cash crops are grown, and most of these--such as tobacco and pineapples--are mechanized and are concentrated on the islands of São Miguel and Terceira. Land that was formerly devoted to wheat has in the last couple of decades been turned over to pasturage. Villagers claim that destruction caused by sparrows greatly reduced their yields. Equally as important, cattle raising utilizes less labor than wheat production, and it is more stable and lucrative an activity. The sale of a full grown cow that has not yet dropped its milk teeth (about two years old) brings in approximately a thousand dollars. This is equivalent to a little less than one half a yearly minimum wage in the Azores. In addition, Azoreans receive a subsidy from the government for each cow they raise. Cattle raising on the small scale that is attempted by most Azoreans requires relatively little labor. Most households have only one, two or three cows. Few have more than five cows, and these are held in a combination of milk and beef cows. Tending to the cattle is most often the responsibility of the elderly men in the village. Although cattle raising is currently a profitable activity, it is considered unseemly for a young man to support his family solely in this way. If a young, male return migrant raises cattle and does not have capital invested in a business, this usually indicates his lack of success with the migrant experience. Thus, cattle raising as the sole economic activity is considered an

occupation for old men and losers.¹ Significantly in this respect, women are beginning to take over the care of the cows from their husbands.

Unlike in many other places, care of the cattle and milking have not traditionally been women's work in the Azores. However this is changing in some households where the men are unable or unwilling to maintain this responsibility due to the demands of their wage job. Many times the cattle are registered in the wife's name because the cattle subsidy is only given to Azoreans who do not engage in wage labor. But this official "ownership" by the women is usually for legal purposes only, and does not afford the wife increased decision making powers in regard to the sale of the cows or allocation of the income.

Maria, a 55 year old woman from Faial, has seen the character and intensity of household agricultural production decrease over the years. She remembers that her mother worked on the land only during certain peak periods of the agricultural cycle, but that she went out to the fields each day to bring lunch to her husband. Now, agricultural work does not occupy the men all day, every day, and the lands further from the house need not be used for growing crops. Maria's house is separated from her married son's house by a very small plot of land that is planted with herbs, malaguetta peppers, kale, onions, garlic and some head cabbage, carrots and cucumbers. Both Maria and her daughter-in-law, the only women in this household group, use the vegetables in this garden plot. Maria's elderly husband plants the garden, but the women take care of the maintenance and harvest the vegetables as they need them. Ties with migrant kin remain strong through

¹ This negative connotation does not apply when cattle is raised on a large scale as a capitalized, mechanized enterprise. However on Faial and Pico only a few businesses such as this exist.

their connection to the land. As discussed in Chapter 5, Azorean migrants have historically maintained a "return ideology," and rarely sell their house or their land when they leave the islands. Even when a house is sold, the land surrounding it is often retained by the original owner. Migrants will sometimes arrange for their land to be rented to nonkin, but revenues from renting are minimal. They will more often allow their kin to use their land rent-free in their absence. Following this pattern, Maria's adult, unmarried son who lives in her house, cultivates additional garlic, onions and kale, as well as several kinds of beans and some bananas, oranges and lemons on the land surrounding the house of Maria's migrant brother. In the past, the produce from this garden has been used by all of Maria's household group. However, when Maria's migrant brother made plans to return to the Azores to live, Maria's son planted a winter crop in the garden in advance of his January arrival so that he would have a vegetable crop for his own household use already in progress.

Staple crops that require more land and labor such as corn, white potatoes, sweet potatoes, melon, squash and taro are grown on plots of land a short distance from the house. The labor on this land is done communally by both Maria's married and unmarried sons, and her husband. Their corn crop is smaller than it was in the past, and is considerably smaller than the crop that Maria's father used to grow when she was a child. One reason is that there are fewer people in the family to feed than when Maria was a child. And in the last decade or so the consumption of corn bread has been decreasing with the availability of bakery-produced wheat bread delivered fresh to the door daily. It has also become common for men to come home for their lunch if they are out working the land at mid-day. Consequently, the days of women serving a hot lunch in the field to their men are over. Thus

while rural women's days are still filled with domestic chores, as will be shown, certain aspects of their workload have been reduced in recent years.

Household Composition and the Gender Division of Labor in Agriculture

On Pico, women are seen more frequently in the field than on Faial. The principle reason for this lies in the shortage of family labor on Pico due to out-migration. While both islands have experienced a high degree of out-migration and currently have similar population figures, Pico is a larger island and the 1981 population density is less than half that of Faial, with only 35 inhabitants per square kilometer on Pico (DREPA 1984). The population loss is thus more apparent on Pico. Also, the population on Pico is older. The Index of Population Aging¹ rose from 59.2% in 1970 to 84.5% in 1981 on Pico, and from 54.2% in 1970 to 62.4% in 1981 on Faial. The index in 1981 was more than 20% higher on Pico than on Faial (DREPA 1984a:27). In comparison, the index for the Azores as a whole is 38%, and for the United States, 47.8%.

Many households on Pico are in an advanced stage of the developmental cycle, consisting solely of the the older generation. And many of these elderly couples live together without the advantage of married children living in the same household, household group, or even nearby on the island. Subsistence agriculture is integral to rural Azorean existence as even two government old age pensions (each amounting, on the average, to 8000 *escudos* or \$53) would be difficult to live on if all the food had to be purchased. Consequently, the couple must work together to perform all the

¹ The *Indice de Envelhecimento* is calculated as the number of people over age 64 divided by the number of people under age 15.

agricultural tasks. Elderly women on Pico, then, work in the fields regularly along with their husbands, or alone if they are widowed, divorced or abandoned.

The use of hired agricultural labor in the Azores as an alternative to women taking on agricultural responsibility is rare due to a combination of factors: 1) Many households cannot afford the expense of hired labor. An agricultural wage laborer usually earns less per day than a non-agricultural worker. The standard rate varies from island to island. On Pico the rate is 1200 *escudos* (\$8), but a laborer can often be hired for only 1000 *escudos* (\$6.66). On Faial, the rate is higher at 1500 *escudos* (\$10). 2) On the more developed islands there is a shortage of people who are willing to do manual labor of any kind, least of all agricultural; and 3) In the Azores there is a long-standing ideology of family self-sufficiency where people rely primarily on the labor from their own household group, and sometimes utilize a reciprocal arrangement with family members in other household groups. These factors preclude the use of outside labor until circumstances became so acute as to make hiring an outsider unavoidable. Both changing household composition due to out-migration and the changing division of labor within the household due to increased participation in wage labor contribute to the hiring of outside labor and the decreased autonomy of the household.

Male participation in wage labor on both Pico and Faial leaves men with less time for agricultural work, but this is less of a problem on Faial where the household groups are larger with more younger members, and they can call on more than one male to work in the fields. On Pico, in households with only one or with no male member, working women must hire wage labor for the planting that they do not have time to accomplish, and elderly women are forced to hire someone to do the work that they no

longer are strong or limber enough to do. The hired labor is always male. Although Azorean women work in their own fields to some extent, they do not hire themselves out as agricultural wage laborers on most islands.¹

For those households with a cash income, hiring a day laborer is much easier on Pico than it is on Faial. Pico is less developed than Faial, so with less wage labor available on Pico, there are more people available and willing to do manual day labor. Consequently, the rate that day laborers can command for their work on Pico is considerably below the legal minimum. But even if the cost of hiring outside labor is not a hardship for a household, the need to hire outside labor reduces the household's autonomy, which makes the decision to hire a difficult one. This does not only occur when there are no young men in the household. It is also a problem when the young men are working at wage labor jobs and are not willing to work in their household's fields. These "modern" men will not do agricultural work for their families, but they contribute money toward the hiring of substitute labor. At this point the household becomes doubly beholden to outsiders: for the wage that the employer pays to the household member, and for the labor that a portion of that wage is transferred to.

Two examples from the village where we lived on Pico illustrate some of the conflicts discussed above. Households in both of the examples have suffered the loss of family labor due to heavy out-migration. The first example is of an elderly couple living alone and is taken from my field notes in the spring of 1988:

¹ On Pico and Faial it is virtually unheard of for a woman to be paid to work on another person's land, and it would be very unusual on all the islands. However, on the islands with large scale cash cropping, such as tobacco on São Miguel, women are hired for such tasks as harvesting.

I was at Mariana's house in the afternoon, sitting on a bench in the kitchen as Mariana sorted her grandson's socks into pairs. The grandson works for the port authority, and all his socks are blue to go with his uniform. It had just started to rain. Not like the downpours we experienced the year before on Faial, but a light steady rain. There was a call from the front walk and Alzira appeared in the doorway. Alzira lives with her husband further up the hill. She's 81 years old and her husband is bedridden. She had a large, wet blanket folded on top of her straw hat; a worn brown scarf tied under her chin. She just stood in the doorway, sighing, the folded blanket dripping around her. She looked very tired. Alzira was bringing the blanket to her friend Mariana to hang on the line because she had run out of room on her own lines. "I left my line filled with clothes that were almost dry," she said. "Now it's raining. *Paciencia!*"

Alzira came into the kitchen, put her blanket down on a wood bench covered with a lumpy corn husk cushion, and slumped down next to it. Suddenly she leaned forward, her hands clasped hard in her lap. "Mariana, I have to tell you something" she said very slowly. "I sold the cow and the calf." Then she began to cry.

Alzira has no close relatives left on Pico; they have all migrated to the United States. This explains why Alzira would seek out a friend to borrow a clothes line from and tell her troubles to instead of a relative. Since Alzira's husband's illness, she has been left with all the agricultural tasks. Alzira has been planting less and less each year, and last year she had to hire someone to do all the heavy work for her. And now she had to sell the cow. Mariana later explained to me that Alzira had had that cow a long time and was fond of it. But Alzira's grief was more than sentimental. With the sale of her milk cow Alzira felt powerless. She had relinquished yet another important tie to what had formerly been a completely independent subsistence lifestyle. When I left the kitchen, the two women were discussing from whom Alzira should buy her milk, now that she would not be producing her own. At least Alzira will be able to purchase milk because she has several small sources of

income. She gets sporadic remittances from her migrant relatives, she receives an old age pension and various family subsidies from the government, and milk is an item that is heavily subsidized for the consumer by the government. Thus, the price of local milk purchased from individuals is also held down.

The second example is that of a female headed household group combining subsistence production and wage labor. Mariana, 72, of the first example above, and her daughter Adelia, a divorced woman of 45 head the two households in their household group. Adelia divorced her husband shortly after the revolution because he was prone to beating her and was a poor provider for the household. He moved to another part of the island and the family has had little communication with him since. Adelia now lives with her 22 year old son in a small house. Adelia's other children, a 25 year old son and 15 year old daughter live in another, larger house just across the road with their grandmother, Mariana. One of Adelia's sisters lives on the other side of Pico, one on Faial, and the rest of her siblings have migrated to the United States. Mariana and Adelia jointly keep a pig and chickens. The chickens are continually crossing the road, dividing their time between the two yards. Mariana keeps a pair of goats and their two kids, and uses some of the goat's milk to make cheese.¹ Adelia works as a *mulher de dias* (domestic servant) five to six days a week in the homes of two different school teachers. Her days are very long because she can take the morning bus to work, but she is dependent upon her employers to drive her home as there is no late afternoon or evening bus in that region of Pico. Several times a week she

¹ Goat-keeping is rare on Faial but more common on Pico because much of Pico's terrain does not lend itself well to cattle pastures. Those who cannot easily keep a milk cow in the vicinity of their house may choose to keep several goats instead.

does not arrive home until 9 or 10 pm. She has little time to do all her household chores, and she does not receive or expect much help from her children. Her days off are filled with baking bread, cleaning the house, doing the laundry and other domestic chores, as well as agricultural work on her subsistence plots. Both of Adelia's sons work for wages in the nearby town, and her daughter goes to school. Adelia's mother, Mariana, widowed at age 42, worked for enough years in the local tuna packing factory to earn the proletarian-level government old age pension of 13,000 *escudos* (\$86.66) per month.

Since Adelia's house is small, her daughter and elder son sleep in their grandmother's house. The young man is treated well there: he sleeps in the big master bedroom, and comes home each night on his motorcycle with a bottle of continental Portuguese wine that he consumes with the hot supper that Mariana has waiting for him. After he eats he retires to the back room to watch television. He contributes 10,000 *escudos* (\$66.66) per month--approximately one third of his salary--to his grandmother. Besides growing the household food and cooking her grandson's meals, Mariana washes, irons and mends his clothes and work uniforms and provides any other necessary domestic services. The other grandson cooks for himself and his sister across the street in their mother's house. Sometimes the granddaughter helps with the cooking and does some of the household domestic tasks for her mother, but mostly she loafs around her grandmother's house in the afternoons, spending part of the time doing her homework. She is not expected to take on much of the domestic responsibility since she is still attending school. She would like to be a secretary in a nearby town when she gets older.

Similarly, neither of the sons is willing to sacrifice the time to help their mother and grandmother with the planting or harvesting of potatoes, corn, or any other of their many crops. The two women have managed on their own until recently, but Mariana is getting too old for such work, and this last year she decided to hire a man for a day to plant the crop. It was an agonizing decision on her part to hire labor to do work that she formerly did herself. But Mariana could not do the work, Adelia was too busy with her job, and Mariana's grandson refuses to do agricultural labor. Mariana resented his unwillingness to help, but she has learned from her almost thirty years as a widow, and also from her daughter's disastrous marriage experience, to rely little on men. And in an indirect way her grandson does provide input to the household's agricultural subsistence production, but in a transformed form: the money he contributes to the household from his wage enables his grandmother to easily afford to hire someone to work in his place. Mariana's reluctance to hire someone to plant the field is more a question of principal and pride than one of money, for with her grandson's contribution on top of her government pension, she feels that she has a more than adequate monthly income. Mariana is an energetic, tenacious person who, despite her illiteracy and early widowhood, has worked hard through her own labor to maintain the relative autonomy and independence of her household group. But now, as she gets older, she is finding that the distance between herself and most of her relatives, combined with the wage labor participation of the adult members of her household group, puts her in the unattractive position of relying on outside, hired labor to maintain the level of subsistence that she and the others in her household group have become used to.

Agricultural Subsistence Production and Transformation

I argued earlier in this chapter and in Chapter 1 that subsistence agriculture in the Azores is in actuality a private sphere activity since it uses predominantly household labor and is oriented by the rhythm and cycle of daily domestic life. The transformation of agricultural products into edible and usable form, which is women's work, represents the extreme end of the private character of agricultural tasks since it takes place within the confines of the domestic domain. The tasks are time consuming and labor intensive, and go way beyond just cooking and baking to include the creation of a multitude of household goods that would otherwise have to be purchased. These homemade objects have allowed the household to subsist comfortably on an extremely low cash budget. In recent years, some of these typical homemade items, like corn husk mattresses, are being replaced by store bought items, and women no longer have to spend the time making them.

Women typically work with other women of the household group, and for some tasks there is a generational division of labor. But in the case of peasant households, the gender and generational division of labor is complementary and somewhat flexible. Since women's work is viewed as integral to the peasant existence and thus the counterpart to men's work, it is not considered embarrassing or shameful for men to participate in "women's work" if extra labor is needed. This is less the case when men are engaged in the public sphere of wage labor in the city, and the wage is used to raise the household's level of living. The realm of appropriate men's work narrows, and men are less inclined to help women with their agricultural tasks. For example, just as women go to the aid of men in the fields during planting and harvesting, peasant men help the women in the house with the time-consuming task of corn husking and drying. This occurs without question on

Pico, where the peasant economy still prevails. However on Faial, where wage labor is increasingly the norm for younger men, if the men find time to help they make it clear that they are doing something extra for the women. This is not simply a practical consideration due to men's time being occupied with wage work, there is also an ideological dimension that takes hold as the wage becomes more important to the household. This is illustrated in the gender division of labor during the *matança do porco*, the pig slaughter weekend. Men's wage work generally does not interfere with the *matança* tasks, yet wage working men on Faial are loathe to have any association with the tasks traditionally considered women's work. Conversely on Pico, when there is a shortage of female labor, men willingly help out. Thus, as I discussed in Chapter 1, in contrast to Deere and León de Leal's (1982) contention that in regions of capitalist development the gender division of labor is more flexible, the Azorean case demonstrates something else. With capitalist integration and participation in wage labor, women must become more flexible and take on all manner of additional tasks beyond those traditionally assigned to them, but men tend to narrow the range of tasks outside of their wage work that they are willing to do. This point is discussed further in the following sections and in Chapter 8.

The *matança do porco* is an important subsistence event in the yearly cycle of almost all rural households, and is discussed in detail in a later section of this chapter. First I turn to corn, the single largest subsistence crop grown in the Azores, and whose transformation process entails both a yearly and weekly sequence of activities. Corn is a plant that furnishes the materials necessary for a wide range of household uses beyond its primary function as flour for bread. The ways that women utilize corn and plant parts for household items is examined in the following sections.

Corn

Corn was introduced into the islands around 1600, during the Spanish domination of Portugal. Although Azoreans did not easily accept the new, oily grain, the production of corn quickly surpassed that of wheat. Corn was well suited to the volcanic soils of the Azores Islands. Unlike wheat, corn could be easily grown on the marginal lands left over from cultivation of the inedible cash crop, pastel dye, and no part of the corn plant would be wasted. Corn made an excellent subsistence crop for the islands, except for one important factor: No one liked it. Father António Cordeiro, a Jesuit priest and chronicler of late seventeenth and early eighteenth century Azores wrote that people from every strata of society rejected it. "Corn was introduced in these islands, but it was poorly accepted, because neither the officials nor even the slaves wanted to eat bread made from it, not even if it was mixed with wheat" (Cordeiro, cited in Lima 1981:380). Father Cordeiro noted that at first corn was eaten only sparingly, roasted on the cob. Not until the second half of the seventeenth century was corn incorporated into the diet in the form of bread, and even then only with much reluctance. As late as 1695 corn was not yet accepted as a substitute for wheat, and a severe shortage of wheat on the islands caused serious "bread riots." The uprisings were only contained after the prices of wheat, corn and salt were officially lowered. But the price of corn was set at a full 55% lower than that for the same quantity of wheat. This event, in combination with the greater availability of corn, fostered the widespread local use of corn flour for bread. Cornbread then quickly became, and has remained until very recently, an indispensable daily staple on the Azores Islands. Today, in the Azores, the production of corn far surpasses

that of wheat. In 1981, 43,567.5 tons of corn were produced whereas only 525.9 tons of wheat were grown (DREPA 1985b:236).

Corn, then, has been the most basic element in Azorean nutrition for over 300 years. But in recent years, due to a greater prosperity that affords a more varied diet, as well as the availability of bakery-produced wheat bread, corn has become increasingly less central in the Azorean diet. Azorean households do not need to plant corn in as great a quantity as they did in the past. But most rural families on the islands still plant some amount of yellow or white corn for household consumption, to be eaten in the form of bread and porridge. Cornbread and porridge, have been staple food items on the Azorean table since the mid 1600s, and rural families that did not have access to land suitable for corn cultivation suffered nutritionally.

As basic as the dense cornbread has been in the Azorean diet, not all Azoreans during the Salazar years had access to bread. Mariana, 72, recalls that bread was rarely a part of the meals that her mother served the family of 10 children in the small house on Pico's rocky, sloping terrain. Mariana's father was an agricultural wage laborer, and he owned a small piece of land that was too rocky for corn production. The only thing he could grow in abundance on his land was *inhames*, taro. This bland, starchy tuber was their staple food. It was not until Mariana married and moved to her husband's ancestral village on the other side of the island that she experienced the security of household production of corn. She now bakes cornbread two times a week for her family's use.

Each island traditionally uses either white or yellow corn. The preferences may have developed according to the suitability of agricultural use of each type on the different islands. The yellow variety is easier to grow than the white variety in that the former is less susceptible to rot. The yellow

corn also produces a sweeter tasting bread than does the white. The variety of corn a household plants and a woman uses to bake bread is more than just a matter of personal preference. It is a matter of island pride, and even identity, and the residents of each island are vocally adamant that their particular corn is the only acceptable one. In the past, if a woman's marriage required relocation to her husband's island, she was immediately indoctrinated by her mother-in-law in the locally preferred manner of bread preparation. If she grew up eating yellow corn, but her mother-in-law used white, the young woman likely never lost her taste for, but never again baked, the yellow cornbread that she grew up eating.

During my field research I experienced both sides of the white corn versus yellow corn debate. The yellow corn is typical of Pico, while only white corn is used for bread on Faial. Faialense grow yellow corn to feed to the pigs, and when the ears are still young and tender they will eat a few as *maçarocas*, roasted on the cob. On several occasions when I would be traveling between Pico and Faial, I was asked to carry yellow cornbread made by a Pico woman to her aged mother who is now living on Faial and cannot get any yellow bread there. Some Faialense who consented to sample the bread that I brought with me from Pico conceded that they actually like the subtle, natural sweetness of the Pico-style bread better than the white cornbread that they make themselves. But it is not something that Faialense would care to eat regularly, nor would they prepare it in their own kitchens. The Faialense appreciation for the yellow corn is expressed in a way that belies their sense of superiority over what they consider their slightly backward neighbors. The Faialense enjoy the yellow Pico bread in the way that many people might value (and temporarily feel nostalgia for) the quaint customs and traditions of a simpler, less sophisticated past.

Planting, husking and drying

Corn is planted in the spring and left on the stalks until September or October when the leaves are wilted and dry. The land is still tilled, for the most part, using a wooden plow hitched to a pair of milk cows. Plowing is men's work. It is usually done by one man, alone, and the plots are small enough so he can accomplish his task in less than a week. Tractors are not practical for most people's land due to the smallness of scale as well as the obstacles presented by the hilly terrain and the stone fences that separate the different parcels of land. But mini-tractors are a new consumer item that is catching the attention of men who hold wage jobs as well as cultivate subsistence plots, and have sufficient cash for the purchase. Usually at least one person in every village owns a full-sized tractor that he uses to plow people's fields for a fee. Women participate in the seeding and then again at harvest time, which marks the beginning of an intensive period of women's agricultural work.

When the corn stalks are as dry as they can get in the field, the corn is harvested. Women and men participate in this task, and while children probably did so in the past, it is unusual to see children in the fields these days. The more modern households have pickup trucks which they load up with ears of corn to transport back to their houses. But even return migrants--who often denigrate old-fashioned equipment and who usually do have pickups--find that nothing is really more convenient for harvesting than the traditional wooden wheeled, woven bough carts that are pulled by oxen or cows. These carts can be brought right into the fields and moved along to accommodate the progressive harvesting. When the basket is full the cart is brought to the house, unloaded, and brought back into the field once again.

Pickups, on the other hand, must remain on the road blocking the narrow street while people carry the ears manually from the field.

Nothing is wasted from the Azorean corn crop. After the ears are harvested, the stalks are cut down, tied in "tee-pee" shaped bundles, and left in the fields for winter use as feed for the cows. Meanwhile back at the house, the women of the household proceed to do one of two things with the corn. They husk and dry the ears in the oven immediately. If they do not want to invest so much labor time immediately, they tie the ears, still in their husks, to tall wood frames that are called *burras* on Pico and *toltas* on Faial. The corn hangs there to dry until it is needed. On some islands, such as Terceira and São Miguel, it is common to hang the ears from the stubby, bare limbs of the trees, on the walls of upper porches, or laid out on the red-tile rooftops. Storage and drying in the husks is considered the easy way out by some women, but it has its disadvantages. On Faial, many people have almost bare *toltas* in their yards, choosing for various reasons to complete the drying and processing of the corn immediately after harvest. Some do not like the trouble of having to get the corn down from the frames when it is needed for the animals, even though they say that the corn is more nutritious for the animals if it has not been oven dried. The corn is vulnerable to insects when left out to dry. And the high winds characteristic of the islands in the winter often knock down the *toltas*, causing what many people consider to be unnecessary added work in the reconstruction since, with the smaller quantities of corn produced in recent times, it is possible to avoid the use of *toltas* altogether by drying the corn in the oven immediately.

If a household decides not to use the *toltas*, the women go into a two-week period of sustained activity in the preparation of the corn for drying, and the drying process, itself. Women complain that they dislike husking

and drying the corn, that it is a seemingly endless process beginning with the tedium of husking and removing the bad kernels, culminating in long, sweaty hours in front of the wood fired stove while the kernels dry. But the husking and picking is a time of communal labor where all the women of the household group, and sometimes even some of the men, gather around and laugh and talk with each other in a way that has at other times become unusual in the years since evening television has reached the islands. The corn husking and drying is such an intensive, important process in the yearly subsistence cycle of the household, that individual years are typically remembered according to the quality of the harvest as revealed in the *desfolha*, the husking. Husking and drying is typically women's work, but I have seen men participating in the husking of the corn when they have completed their other work for the day, even occasionally on Faial where the gender division of domestic and agricultural labor appears more rigid than on Pico. The corn stalks are usually unloaded from the carts or pickups into the *loja*, a space either underneath the living quarters on the ground floor, or in a small, separate stone structure near the house. The *loja* has been used in the past for the occasional shelter of animals and to keep the animal-powered corn mill that was found in many houses, but it is now mostly used to store the seldom-utilized wooden cart, for storage of agricultural produce and implements, and as an indoor place to perform certain domestic tasks. Cows remain in the fields throughout the year. The *loja* is an all-purpose room to perform those chores that a woman would not want done in her kitchen. These include such diverse activities as washing and hanging the daily laundry, hookup of the new washing machine, laying out of the seed potatoes for the next year, hanging the slaughtered pig overnight before butchering, drying, picking and sorting beans, and husking the corn.

For the husking, all the women of the household and the older children gather in the *loja* and sit on low stools, peeling the husks off the great pile of corn in the center of the room. The husks are tossed into another pile, to be used at a later time as pillow and mattress stuffing and for lighting fires. The women are careful to pick out any rotten kernels, storing them in baskets to be fed to the chickens. Husked cobs are also stored in large straw baskets on the floor of the *loja*, and hanging from the ceiling rafters. When a sufficient amount of corn has been husked and picked, the drying process starts. The large bread oven is heated--a task that in itself takes two to three hours--and the oven is filled with corn that must remain there for 24 hours to completely dry out. The next day the process is repeated, and it continues for two or more weeks, depending on the size of the harvest. When the ears are removed from the oven they are placed in baskets to await the next step: removal of the kernels from the cobs. A simple, homemade wooden machine is used to remove the kernels. The cobs are placed, one at a time in a hole at the top, the operator turns a metal crank on the side, and the kernels are scraped from the cob and come flying out a hole in the front to rest in a growing heap on the floor. The separated kernels are then stored for the year in a five-foot by four-foot metal jar kept in the *loja*. The kernels keep longer in their whole form, so corn is sent to the mill to be ground into flour a sack at a time.

The empty cobs are saved for use as fuel. Corn husks are also used as fuel if they are not needed for anything else. Traditionally, corn husks were used to stuff all furniture padding in peasant houses. Rough hewn wood bases were made by the men in the household for the structure of the bench or chair, and husks were sewn into cotton cloth by the women for the cushions. Most rural households to this day have couch/benches in their

kitchens, bedrooms or sitting rooms made in this way, even if they also have a store bought couch or easy chair. Bed pillows and mattresses were also stuffed with corn husks. In the "master" bedroom of many rural houses is a beautifully carved bedframe and matching wardrobe that was made years ago by a local craftsman, and has been handed down through the generations. Even these beds typically carried corn husk mattresses. Today, many people have bought commercially made mattresses, but often the old corn husk mattress serves in lieu of a boxspring. Corn husk stuffing needs continual upkeep. In order to keep the stuffing fresh, smooth, and free of mildew, the pillows and cushions must be emptied at least once a year and the contents spread to dry in the sun, or replaced altogether.

Milling

Prior to the advent of windmills in the Azores, grain was ground into flour in three ways. Until the laws governing the use of mills were amended in 1766, the only type of mill that individuals in the Azores were permitted to own and operate was the small, circular, stone hand mill. The grinding process was slow and laborious, and women ground flour in sufficient quantity for immediate household use only. Conversely, power driven mills and the revenues generated from their use were the sole domain of each island's principal landowner, the *capitan*. It was forbidden to operate a windmill, watermill or the large, animal-driven stone mills known as *atafonas* without the expressed authority of the *capitan*.

Today, hand mills can still be found in many Azorean homes, but their use is limited to the occasional grinding of fava beans to make the "poor man's coffee" that older Azoreans became accustomed to when they were young. Many houses still have an *atafona* in the *loja* on the ground floor of

the house, but no one uses them anymore. *Atafonas* were designed to be powered by the strength of oxen or horses, but women recall the long hours spent during their childhood, leaning into the wooden arm of the mill with their siblings and cousins, walking the heavy grinding stone around and around.

Windmills, unknown to the islands for two centuries, now function as a symbol of identity for the Azorean archipelago, and they remain the sole traditional milling method still utilized there.¹ Most of the windmills are in disrepair, but a few on most islands are still operating. Households have corn ground into flour in small quantities at a time so that it does not go bad, and an important part of a young girl's domestic responsibilities was the weekly trip to the windmill with a sack of grain on her head. But like the watermills and the *atafonas*, windmills are quickly becoming obsolete as faster, more efficient and reliable motor driven mills become more common. These new mills include in their services the pickup of grain and next day delivery of flour. Women consider this a great advantage because they no longer have to bring their heavy sacks to the mill. Transportation has always been a burden for peasant women, since they have not been associated with animal transportation on the islands. Horses and donkeys have been traditionally used on the islands for transportation and to carry goods, but these are used exclusively by men. Even on the rare occasion that a woman accompanies

¹ The original settlers of some of the islands came from Flanders, and along with the light skinned, light haired and blue eyed phenotype of many Azoreans, the proliferation of windmills on the islands is typically considered to be a Flemish legacy. This idea became especially widespread at the time of the revolution of 1974-1976 when the Azores, looking to secede from Portugal, wanted to spread the idea of an acutely independent identity for the island group. In fact, windmills have been in existence in Flanders and other parts of Europe since the mid-thirteenth century, but Portuguese historians believe that the earliest possible date for the introduction of windmills in the Azores falls in the first part of the seventeenth century--almost 200 years after the initial Flemish settlement.

her husband in the road while he is riding, she will walk alongside, often carrying a load on her head. Public buses have made transportation easier now, and some people use the buses for part of the trip to the mill. But the bus system runs on the main roads, only, and a woman still has to carry the sack on her head a long distance. Thus, although most women insist that the windmill grinds the flour to a preferable texture, for the sake of convenience, they utilize the services of the modern motor mills.

Bread

Bread is not only a symbol of nutrition, but it is the base of human sustenance from birth until death. The city dweller, used to a varied and rich diet, cannot comprehend the role that bread holds in the diet of the rural people....Bread, that has been for centuries the major dietary element of men, continues to be so today for the rural populations. (Dias 1981:162)

Cornbread has been for over 300 years, the staple food item in the Azores. The traditional Azorean bread oven, the stone *forno*, is a structure that extends externally from one of the kitchen walls. The dome-shaped interior opens into the kitchen with a small entrance above a stone ledge. The ledge is used as a base for building the fire over which women cook food in iron pots. Baking for the household is the women's responsibility, and it is done on an individual basis--each woman in her own kitchen. The women are dressed in their everyday costume of a dark flowered cotton apron over a dark skirt and blouse or sweater. A dark head scarf is tucked under a homemade straw hat, even when in the kitchen. Younger married women also wear headscarves a large portion of the time, but their color scheme is not quite so dark.

Firewood is collected and bundled on the family woodlands, a task generally, but not exclusively, performed for the women by the men. The *forno* is heated by building the fire inside the oven, itself. Wood is still plentiful on the islands, partly due to the history of migration that helped to keep the islands from becoming overpopulated. However this is not the only reason. Azoreans are frugal in their use of wood, and an oven is never heated to provide warmth, alone. Therefore, during the chilly, damp winters, the only days that felt the warmth of a full oven fire were baking days.

To heat the oven, the women rapidly place dried grasses, kindling, and larger branches--that they break neatly over their knee with one sharp crack--into the dome until a blazing fire fills the interior. When the flames die down a broom that the baker had assembled from fresh leaves gathered earlier that morning is used to spread the coals over the surface of the oven. The fire is then rebuilt until the oven is sufficiently hot for baking. Then the coals are raked in a pile in the entrance where they remain throughout the baking. Heating the *forno* for baking can require as much as three hours of constant attendance.

Cornbread is typically baked in one of two forms. The yeast bread known as *pão de milho*, or simply, *massa*, is baked in the shape of a flat-bottomed dome about twelve inches in diameter and three inches high at the center. *Massa* is a moist, heavy, filling bread that forms the basis of most Azorean meals. The other type is called *bolo*, a flat, non-leavened disk also about one foot across. Most women who make bread bake both types on the same morning, *massa* first and then *bolo*, as the latter bakes faster and requires less heat. When pressed for time or short of firewood, women can make *bolo* in the energy-conserving iron wood stove that is situated below

the ledge area of many *fornos*, or even in a heavy skillet on a gas or wood stove top.

After baking, the breads are stored on slatted shelves built into screened kitchen cupboards. Unlike the bakery-made wheat bread and rolls known as *papa secos* which become dry and stale within the day, the *massa* and *bolo* remain good to eat for a week. The baking process occupies an entire half day, and is typically done one morning a week. In the past, when households were larger and depended more on the home-baked cornbread, women baked two to three times weekly. But now, wheat bread that is baked in the cities and delivered to the rural areas each morning by van is gaining more and more of a following by virtue of its status as a symbol of modernity. Thus, less corn is planted, and less cornbread is baked and consumed. Few women under the age of 45 would consider baking the weekly cornbread because it is a labor intensive task that they feel is little worth their while. Their families would rather eat wheat bread, a preference that can be indulged since cheap, government subsidized and price-controlled wheat bread is available at their doorsteps. Cornbread is not baked commercially, and few women bake it in their kitchens for sale. Those who do, work in small volumes and charge five times the price of a bakery wheat bread. Yet, the reward is little, given the work involved in producing and preparing the corn and baking the bread. And the baker's family must often eat the leftover breads that remained unsold after a few days.

There is nothing so symbolic of Azorean tradition as the dense, home baked cornbread. Those who want the bread regularly either bake it themselves, or are supplied by an elder female member of the household group. For some Azoreans--notably the younger generations--cornbread is not valued highly at all. Most young women refuse to spend the time it takes

to bake it, and their husbands prefer the wheat bread bought from the bakeries. These modern, young men would not appreciate their wife's efforts if they did bake the cornbread. Cornbread for the younger generations is associated with a life-long custom, but what stands out in their minds is the poverty, oppression, backwardness and hard manual labor that they are coming to associate with the peasant lifestyle of their parents and grandparents. For the older generations, cornbread was the staple of their poverty-stricken lives, the greater portion of which were spent during the Salazar dictatorship. Yet rather than assigning this life bread a negative connotation, to the elders it symbolizes continuity and nurturance. The nourishing cornbread was not available to all; some households, especially on rocky Pico, did not have land on which to grow corn. Thus, cornbread reminds elderly Azoreans about the satisfaction, security and general sense of well-being that came from food self-sufficiency, the warmth of the kitchen oven on a cold day, and having a full stomach when they went to sleep at night.

For these reasons, few people would care to purchase cornbread. If they want it all, they want it baked by a household member. However, a third group of Azoreans depart from this norm. These are the elderly return migrants. For them, especially the men, cornbread is an object of deep *saudades*, nostalgia. Women are not quite so nostalgic because they are the ones who would be required to do the work to produce it. Habituated by years of working in the factories of North America for a set weekly salary, and the convenience of purchasing white bread in the corner store, they do not crave the taste of their youth as much as their husbands do. It is rare for a return migrant to resume baking cornbread in the *forno* after a prolonged absence in a migrant community, and the experience of working for wages. Thus, if it is

not possible for a return migrant wife to obtain a few breads now and then, or even regularly, from a relative in the village, then she must go in search of a paid supplier. Return migrants are the most steady customers of the women who bake cornbread for sale.

A common *promessa*, or vow, made by migrants in the United States and Canada is to provide one large bread, weekly, for every person now residing in the migrants' village of birth. Ironically, it is wheat bread that the migrant distributes, not the cornbread of his youth. The latter is not available in large quantities, and would be too expensive to order on a large scale. The migrant makes a contract with a local bakery, and on designated days trucks make the rounds of recipient villages leaving piles of hot crusty bread on the low, stone walls in front of every house.

I have heard elderly men who have spent their entire lives growing corn on the islands claim a preference for bakery produced wheat bread. But for their wives who continue to bake the bread, it is not only a matter of taste, but also of tradition and pride. The baking of cornbread is more than a weekly event; it is tied into the yearly cycle of planting, harvesting, husking, drying and grinding. Time is marked by the corn cycle, and years are recalled by their harvests. The baking of cornbread is a task that the women of the Azores have seen diminish in importance in the face of modern tastes that are gripping their families, but cornbread is a tradition that they will not allow to be entirely abandoned in their lifetimes. Even after fifty or sixty years of the time-consuming chore, they approach baking day with a strength and seriousness of purpose. After pulling each bread from the oven with the same kinds of handmade wooden tools that were used by their grandmothers and their grandmothers before them, they hold up each steaming bread with calloused bare hands to approve its shape and color before placing it on the

cloth covered table. I have also seen husbands who usually stay clear of the kitchen during the day, silently come up to the door and stick their heads inside to survey the morning's baking results. Although these same men may in public express preference for wheat over corn, at this moment, in the privacy of the domestic domain, they appear to feel otherwise. When Emanuel once caught me watching him at the doorway, he stepped fully into the kitchen, nodded at the breads on the table, and smiled: "*Fica aqui!*" he said, pulling sharply on one earlobe in the Azorean gesture of appreciation ("This is the best!"). In contrast, it is difficult to think of a domestic activity that can elicit such respect and admiration from young, wage working men.

Milk and Dairy Products

Milk

Azorean villagers produce most of their own food, and milk is an integral part of children's and many adults' diet. Milk is consumed plain, at room temperature (or cold if the household has a refrigerator), or else with a little brewed coffee, chicory, or ground fava bean mixed in. It is also added to the corn meal porridge (*papas*) that is typically eaten for breakfast or late supper. Rural women from households that raise cows usually do not boil the milk, maintaining the assumption that their own cows are healthy. Those who buy it from others boil it to be safe. Milk can be purchased from any number of rural households twice a day, shortly after the milking. The buyer supplies the metal or plastic liter containers which a child is usually responsible for dropping off at the supplier's house, to be picked up later, full. Milk is sold privately for around 40 *escudos* (\$.26) per liter.

People who own two or three cows may sell the milk directly to the commercial milk posts. They receive anywhere from 35 to 40 *escudos* per

liter, depending on the fat content of the milk. During the last five months of research (December 1986-April 1987), the factories had not paid the producers for their milk, and many villagers having given up hope of receiving their due, refused to bring any more milk to the posts. In mid-April the factories announced that they would begin back and current payment, but most producers were skeptical. In 1975, 154.5 million liters of milk were processed in Azorean factories. The quantity has risen continually with 181.6 million in 1980, 210 million in 1985, and 220 million in 1986 (DREPA 1986a; *O Telégrafo*, Sept. 8, 1987).

The price of commercial milk in the Azores is heavily subsidized. In 1987 a liter bag of normally pasteurized and homogenized milk cost 42.5 *escudos* (\$.28), which was an increase of 5 *escudos* over the price at the end of the previous year. A waxed liter box of ultra-pasteurized milk costs 20 *escudos* more. Some women find it convenient because it does not require refrigeration, it has a very long shelf life, it comes in a variety of low and high fat contents and it is always available in the stores. Conversely, bagged milk must be pre-ordered from the store the day before, as the stores do not keep it refrigerated and they order the exact quantity that they need from the factories. The boxed milk is sold mostly in the city, and is kept on hand in the village stores for those who need milk in an emergency. I have seen boxed milk in the village where I lived that was a month expired on a very long expiration date. This does not concern the village shopkeepers. Despite the variety of commercial choices, villagers and even many city dwellers prefer fresh milk to any other kind. They particularly distrust the boxed milk because of the mysterious "ultra" processing it is believed to go through at the factory.

Milk does not carry the modern=desirable/old-fashioned=undesirable dichotomous relationship between processed and fresh cow's milk that has been associated with wheat bread and cornbread. Fresh milk remains highly valued by urban residents, and they prefer to use it if they can get access to a regular supply. This seems to be more possible on an island such as Pico than on Faial. On Pico, where exchange between the rural and urban areas is still important and is facilitated by an informal communication and delivery service provided by the island's buses, you can see people's liter milk cans hanging from hooks in the bus shelters around the island and on chain link fences in the towns. These serve as distribution points for the larger rural producers.

When milk is sold to relatives or neighbors from out of a woman's kitchen, distribution of the milk and collection of payment is women's work. Women say that it adds considerable work time to their day because they have to be continually washing and sterilizing the milk containers. Even though buyers supply their own containers, the milk has to be stored before it is picked up. Sometimes the sale of milk provides a home-based wife intermittent contacts with her neighbors when they come to pick up their milk twice a day. Buyers normally go up on the porch and call into the kitchen door, stopping for a few minutes to talk just inside the plastic strip curtains if the weather is too bad to remain outside. But more often than not, women send their children to pick up the milk, and the continual calling at the door serves to disturb a woman's work in the home. Women who sell milk from their kitchens do not seem to be sure that the effort it takes is really worth their while.

Conversely, when the household sells the milk to the factory post, distribution is men's work. Early in the morning and in the evening, men,

usually elderly, strap the metal cans to their donkey or horse and slowly ride sidesaddle to the milk post. Some of the younger men who work in the city, drop the milk off on their way to work in their pickup trucks. When the household is a larger producer and the milk is brought to the city for sale, distribution is again men's work. In one larger town on Pico, for example, women hang their liter cans on a fence off of a main street, and a man comes from a nearby village with large milk cans in the back of his pickup. He fills the little containers and women, seeing his arrival from their windows, come from all directions to collect their morning or afternoon milk.

Unlike in many parts of the world, in the Azores milking is not traditionally women's work. It has been found elsewhere that as men become more involved in wage work, women take over more agricultural responsibilities (Deere 1979; Deere and León 1987; Minge-Kalman 1978). Thus far, since most agricultural work in the Azores is not very intensive except for short peak periods during the year, wives have not been taking over the agricultural work from their husbands to any great extent. However, milking is a different matter. Milking is a relatively time consuming activity because it must be done morning and evening far from the house out in the fields. Then the full milk pails must be carried back to the house. Thus, milking is an activity that will become more commonly associated with women's work, at least in households where men are working for wages but the women are not.

For example, Luisa, a 33 year old Faialense woman, only recently began to help her husband, Fernando with the milking. When Fernando was told that he would have to go to Lisbon for three months of special training for his wage job, he decided that he would have to teach Luisa how to milk and care for the cows. Fernando has been working at a utilities company since he

finished his military service and married Luisa, about twelve years ago. His normal schedule has been to get up early, take his truck out to the pastures and milk the cows before returning to the house, having his breakfast, and getting ready for work. When he arrived home from work at six in the evening, he immediately changed his clothes and went out once again to the pastures. The evening's chores were more labor intensive than the morning's because with the Azorean system of tying the cows to individual stakes in the pasture, the cows must be moved and restaked once a day. When the time came to move them to another pasture entirely, sometimes quite a distance away, Luisa and other members of the household went along to help. Luisa, wearing bluejeans and tall rubber boots, usually drove their small pickup truck on those occasions, and the men walked in front with the cows. Luisa has always been responsible for sterilizing the milk cans and dispensing the milk in liter containers to her customers, most of them members of the extended family. But she never thought about milking the cows. When it seemed that Fernando would be called away from the house for an extended period, there was no choice but to teach Luisa how to take his place in the fields. Luisa began going out to the pastures with Fernando in the mornings. Her reaction to this new responsibility was mixed: whenever I saw her after she began the milking she would tell me all about it, indeed, it became one of her favorite topics of conversation. Her hands were getting severely dry and chapped, and this was very uncomfortable for her, especially in the afternoons which she often spent sewing and knitting for her family. She did not like having to go out in the cold and rain of the winter mornings, and she found it strange to be directly responsible for the cows. This was no longer just occasionally helping out; the cows became part of her daily work. Fernando's impending trip to Lisbon was cancelled at that time, but Luisa

continues to do the morning milking by herself. Luisa's continual comments about her work with the cows were delivered with a touch of pride, and it did seem as though the new work gave her a sense of accomplishment and self-assurance. Milking had always been one of the important tasks that her husband did, and now she is sharing that work with him. This is especially significant for Luisa since her relationship with her husband and mother-in-law (who lives in another house a few yards away) has been characterized by dependence and subordination. Luisa has considered getting a wage job to bring in extra income into the household, but her husband forbids her to do so. Fernando feels that his wife's place is in the home. He is the member of the family that forays into the public sphere each day for work. The phenomenon of women taking over the household milking is such a recent one that it is too early to say with certainty how this will affect the women's position in their households in the long run.

Deere and León (1987) found that as women take over household agricultural work from their wage worker husbands, the agricultural tasks lose their former prestige and are undervalued as they become associated with, and seen as an extension of, housework. As I discussed earlier, cattle raising and milk production on a small scale is not seen as appropriate as the sole economic activity for a virile, successful young man. It is not socially valued. It is likely, then, that as women increasingly take over responsibility for the cows, the disparaging attitude toward this work will intensify. However, as I discuss in Chapter 8, most young women as well as men aspire to wage jobs, so milking and cattle care may have to remain the responsibility of the elderly. Another factor is the market for beef and dairy products. The European Economic Market has placed reduced quotas on Azorean cheese products, and has forbidden the export of these products to migrant

communities in North America as well. Beef is also a product that the EEC does not lack, and the Prime Minister of Portugal, Cavaco Silva, publicized in a 1986 re-election campaign speech his desire to do away with the "one-cow farms." Thus, the high prices currently paid for Azorean cattle and the subsidies awarded for their production are likely to disappear in the near future, thus wiping out a lucrative source of extra income for Azorean rural households.

Cheese

Pico is known for a particular type of cheese called São João, after the town where a small, family-operated factory is located. The semi-cured cheese is also made by women in their kitchens throughout the island for their own use and for sale to the restaurants and stores on Pico and Faial. The cheese is formed into flat rounds of about two pounds each, and at its best is mildly flavored, creamy in the center with a hardening, natural rind. With each passing week it becomes increasingly sharp and flaky. The homemade cheese is of considerably better quality than the cheese made in the factory, and it is more expensive to buy. The homemade cheeses use ten liters of milk per cheese, at 40 *escudos* per liter. The cheese then sells for 650 *escudos*, yielding a profit of 250 *escudos* per cheese, around \$1.66. A woman who uses the milk from her household's milk cows makes more money for her effort.

A dairy product that women more commonly make in their kitchens is fresh cheese (*queijo fresco*) from cow's milk or sometimes goat's milk. *Queijo fresco* does not require the input of much time or labor, and is ready to eat the next day. Milk that has been treated with a synthetic coagulating

enzyme¹ and a touch of salt simply sits over night in a small metal mold. It is a light, slippery cheese with a mild taste that goes especially well with homemade cornbread. Older people enjoy eating the combination for their evening meal. Women also make butter and yoghurt in their kitchens, but with less frequency than in the past. Even women in households with several milk cows usually opt to purchase butter because home production is too labor-intensive.

Eggs

Almost every rural household has chickens, but people rarely sell the excess eggs although there is a good profit in it. For instance on Faial, Pico and São Jorge (islands of the central group), all the eggs sold in the shops and city market are produced commercially on the island of São Miguel, the major island of the eastern group. They are sold by the dozen, which includes a wide range of egg sizes. When there was a production shortage during our first winter on the islands, we did not see eggs in the stores for over a month. Arrangements can be made with village women for the purchase of eggs, and it is understood that the price for local eggs is higher than that for the commercial eggs, even when the latter are available in abundance. A dozen local eggs sold for 300 to 330 *escudos* (about \$2) on Pico during our second winter, when commercial eggs were going for two-thirds that price. That price is too high for most local residents. It is mostly return migrants who do not have their own chickens and who appreciate a truly fresh egg (something

¹ It is also possible to use a natural coagulant, called *coalho*, a goat product made by a complicated process that entails slaughtering a 7 to 8 day old animal. The kid is allowed to nurse until it is satisfied, after which it is slaughtered and the stomach is removed. Retaining the milk in the stomach, salt is added to facilitate distillation. The resulting brine was used in the past as a coagulating agent (Borba Lopes Dias 1982:108). But with the advent of an inexpensive synthetic substitute, this process is no longer necessary.

that they remember from their childhood but could not get all the years they were living in American cities) and they have the means to pay for it. While most people do not want to sell their eggs, they are very generous about giving them away. A half-dozen eggs packaged up in an old, plastic sugar bag makes a favorite gift for someone who has come to visit, especially, but not exclusively, if the visitor does not have chickens.

Beef and pork: the *matança*

Virtually every rural household raises a pig each year for slaughter and household consumption, and in recent years many raise a cow for the same purpose. Pigs, and especially cows, are shared among the households of a household group. This sharing is natural when the households are located close together. But when adult, married siblings live scattered around the island, parents may raise a pig and call all the children together for the slaughter. The meat will be shared among all the siblings' households.

Only households with deep freezers consider killing a cow for consumption, but these freezers are becoming more and more common, particularly among return migrants. A professional butcher is usually, but not always, called in to slaughter the cow, and the family packages the meat into portions and stores it in plastic bags. A butcher is only necessary if no one in the family wants to deal with the enormity of the butchering task. Azorean-style beef butchering does not require special carving skill since little effort is made to distinguish between different cuts of different quality and tenderness. Azoreans cook beef in their homes in primarily one manner: in liquid as a "pot roast" or stew. One woman who slaughters a cow yearly with

the help of her mother,¹ assured me: "Look, there's no special trick to butchering a cow. It's just like a pig, but bigger."

The yearly pig slaughter is taken very seriously. There is a science and a ritual to butchering the pig, and the family member who is the designated butcher gains prestige from the position. The pig slaughter, *matança do porco*, is a secular *festa* as integrated into the yearly ritual cycle for each household as is the *Festa do Espírito Santo*. Due to modern conveniences, the *matança do porco festa* has changed considerably over the years, but the festive spirit of communal labor and feasting continues. Specifically for this reason, the *matança* is unique as an Azorean event, for on no other occasion are so many diverse people assembled in one home. The "woman's" domain is thrown open to the extended family and selected outsiders; her individual responsibility for food preparation and transformation is shared with others. The men perform the most dramatic activity of the *festa*, the actual slaughter of the pig. But the women quickly take over with their continual production of specialty dishes over the course of the weekend. The schedule of food preparation is predictable from house to house and from year to year, because it is dependent upon the progression of the butchering of the pig. The *matança do porco festa* is like a drama unfolding in a series of acts. The men star Saturday morning in act one, "The Slaughter." Beginning with act two, "The First Meal," on Saturday afternoon, the men largely comprise the audience, or if they are still on stage in subsequent acts they have only supporting roles and bit parts. From this moment on the women are the

¹ Normally slaughtering is men's work, but in this household the woman's father is deceased, and her husband is averse to dealing with products of the land. He is a successful fisherman who owns his own large boat. While he is at home on the sea, he has no interest in (or time for) crop cultivation or cattle production.

principal players. The one exception is on Sunday morning when the women are busy in the house and one man playing The Butcher is on stage virtually alone. Employing the metaphor of the theater, Table 7.1 outlines the major acts of the *Matança do Porco*.

Table 7.1
Principal Acts of the *Matança do Porco Festa*

| <u>Act</u> | <u>Time Per.</u> | <u>Principal Actors</u> |
|--|------------------|--------------------------------|
| <u>Saturday</u> | | |
| I The Slaughter / The Preparation | 8:00 - 12 noon | Males Females |
| II The Lunch | 12:00 - 1:00 | Females |
| III The Pig Hanging / The Cleanup | 1:00 - 2:00 | Males Females |
| IV The Tripe Cleansing | 2:00 - 4:00 | Females |
| V The Sausage | 4:00 - 5:30 | Females |
| Intermission | 5:30 - 7:00 | |
| VI The Dinner | 7:00 - 8:30 | Females |
| VII The Cleanup / The Card Game | 8:30 - 10:00 | Females Males |
| <u>Sunday</u> | | |
| VIII The Skinning / The Cracklings / The Preparation | 9:00 - 11:30 | One Male Females Females |
| IX The Lunch | 12 noon - 1:00 | Females |
| X The Butchering / The Sausage / The Preparation | 1:00 - 3:00 | One Male Females Females |
| XI The Last Dinner | 5:30 - 7:00 | Females |
| XII The Cleanup / The Card Game | 7:00 - 10:00 | Females Males |

The *matança do porco festa* is extremely important for a number of reasons. It is essential to the subsistence aspect of the Azorean lifestyle on the

islands and also in North American Azorean migrant communities where the *matança*, in modified form, is commonly performed¹ It is a *feita* intimate to individual households in that it marks time differently for each one, but at the same time it reinforces and sometimes forges new links² between all the participant households. This function of the *matança* is particularly significant as most forms of reciprocal labor between households are disappearing. This secular *feita*, that is so integral to the gender division of labor and the social organization of Azorean communities, has never been described and placed in its social context in either the Portuguese or English language literature, so I have chosen to discuss it in considerable detail.

In years past, during the Salazar regime when little meat was eaten and the Azorean people (like the majority of Portuguese in other regions) lived in extremely impoverished circumstances, it was common for a number of unrelated households on a street to cooperate in a series of *matança do porcos* throughout the year. All contributed to the labor involved in butchering the pig; cleaning the intestines and the subsequent preparation of sausages; rendering the skin to make cracklings and lard, which was the only form of cooking oil used; and salting the pork meat for long-term storage. Then they shared the meat among the households. The *matança do porco* was a weekend-long event during which two lunches and two dinners were communally consumed by the group involved. It was an occasion for

¹ Obviously, the slaughter of a pig in one's backyard is discouraged by local authorities in New England and California urban neighborhoods. But Azorean families get around this obstacle by purchasing a freshly slaughtered pig, all parts intact. They gather the extended family members and friends, and proceed to butcher and process the pig during the course of the weekend in the traditional manner.

² Such as in the case of new relations created through the marriage of a child. While in-law families may convene rarely through the year, the *matança* is a principal mechanism for bringing them together.

celebration, because except for close relatives, Azoreans even today do not visit each other's houses with frequency, and even close relatives do not eat in each other's houses. On Saturday evening after the meal, neighbors who were not involved in the labor of the *matança* also came to the house. They all gathered out in the *loja* where the freshly slaughtered pig hung from a hook on the ceiling, to drink wine, eat dried figs, and sing and dance to the music of a local string band whose members were served a good meal for their services. Rural Azoreans over the age of thirty or so often speak nostalgically about those lively times that broke the monotony of winter evenings in poorly lit and unheated houses.

These days, a *matança do porco* involves a pig belonging to an individual household,¹ but members of the extended family (and selected friends if the family is small) are invited to participate in the labor and feasting. At the end, each household goes home with a plate of raw meat, cracklings and sausage. Although more subdued than in earlier years, the *matança* remains a festive event, as even members of the extended family are not accustomed to convening for any type of communal labor or eating. The *matança* seems to be the one event, even surpassing holiday feasts, where the

¹ There are exceptions to this norm. One occurs when married children occupy their own house on the same piece of land as one of the spouse's parents. This situation can be said to comprise two separate households, but as I discussed in Chapter 3, they are integrally related in many respects, both economically and for subsistence purposes, and so I refer to them as a household group. Ownership of consumer items is attributed to the residents of one or the other house, but in reality, use is more often than not, shared. I examine the concept of the household in Azorean society more thoroughly in Chapter 3, but it is relevant to the discussion of the *matança do porco*. As lands are farmed communally in such cases of household groups, with members of all houses providing the labor and sharing the produce, the pig is fed, cared for, slaughtered and consumed by the entire household group. To illustrate, when I unthinkingly asked an older woman which day her *matança* was going to occur, she became uncomfortable and immediately glanced at her daughter-in-law as she replied, "Well, our *matança* will be next Saturday." To which her daughter-in-law quickly added, "We're having it in my mother-in-law's *loja*," which is located a few steps away from the daughter-in-law's own house.

Azorean household is provided with a socially instituted mechanism for incorporating the presence and participation of outsiders.

To efficiently process the pig and take care of all the cooking and cleaning tasks involved during the weekend, it is helpful to have at least ten women working. Indeed, as many women as are available are easily put to work. The reason that so many women are needed is that there are several categories of tasks involved in the *matança* weekend. These tasks are traditionally divided up according to generation, with married women cooking in the house, and unmarried women cleaning and preparing the organs. But in recent years with smaller families, the shortage of adult, unmarried women in a household means that young married women must also do some of the more distasteful tasks. Cooking and cleaning in the kitchen are ongoing tasks, apart from the chores directly related to processing the pig.

Three or four men are sufficient to perform the male tasks. Nevertheless, there are usually more men than that on hand for the slaughter since it gives the men a reason to get together and they all appear to enjoy the *matança* tasks. Men in the households who are invited to the *matança* are expected to show up for the meals even if they do not participate in the slaughter. But for women, it is embarrassing to eat the food when they have not contributed to the labor. Women carry the bulk of responsibility for the weekend's activities, beginning several days in advance with the baking of cornbread and sweet bread and the chopping of literally hundreds of green onions.

Early Saturday morning, while the women are cleaning the house and the *loja* where the pig will be hung over night, the men are out behind the house in a field, setting up a temporary table to lay out the pig. The pig is

dragged screaming and squealing over to the table, and is held down while the "butcher" slits its throat. A woman comes out briefly to provide a tub to catch the blood, returning afterward to the kitchen. Whereas on continental Portugal there are menstrual and other taboos that restrict who comes into contact with the pig in its varying stages (Lawrence 1982), these types of taboos and beliefs are not present on the Azores Islands. The women remain in the house during the morning slaughter because it is in the house that their labor is needed at that time. There is no time to be spared standing around watching the spectacle. The butcher brings the full tub of blood to the kitchen later, one of the few times the entire weekend that a man approaches that female domain. When the pig has been drained, the men burn the hair off the skin with propane torches, and then carefully shave it, meticulously removing every bit of burnt skin and hair until the pig is shining white. This takes the men a leisurely four hours to accomplish, all the time talking and laughing in an animated way, very unlike the usual reserved, Azorean male reserved behavior.¹ On Faial, two or three times during the shaving a woman will serve the men brandy to fortify them in their task. I observed the women providing the brandy unsummoned, but Borba Lopes Dias (1982:105) writes that on Terceira the women bring the men *aguardente* and dried figs when the men start yelling that the "pig is dry." On Pico the women do not cater to the men in this way.

Meanwhile, the women are preparing a multi-course mid-day meal that often consists of pork that has been frozen since the last *matança*. When the men have finished cleaning the pig, they come into the house and sit

¹ Azorean people in general, and men, especially, are by their own description "*fechado*", closed natured.

right down at the dining table. They use the table in the kitchen if the kitchen is the only room available. The women have already placed piles of sliced cornbread on the patterned, plastic tablecloth next to every glass. A tremendous amount of the everyday cornbread is eaten at the *matança* feasts even though these meals offer a wide array of specially prepared foods. Not usually heavy drinkers even at *feira* times, Azorean men like to drink the mild red wine of Pico at *matança do porco* feasts. They begin drinking when they sit down at the table. The women serve the food, one steaming platter at a time. On Faial, the women hover around the men, ensuring that they have enough to eat, that they are enjoying the food, that they do not require anything further. The men, in turn, eat heartily, commenting on the quality of the food, on the texture of the bread, on the skill of the women. Men traditionally do not cook, but they know all the ingredients in the dishes, and which ingredients are those that make the dishes especially good. Again, the *matança* meals stand out from regular meals because they are a collaboratively prepared and communally consumed feast. Such verbal expression of appreciation for the women at the *matança* meal can be partly related to the conviviality and uniqueness of the occasion, and, partly to the relaxed and more open demeanor brought out in the men by the wine. Only after the men are satiated and sitting at the table drinking more wine, talking about going out to finish off the pig, do the women have their own meal in the kitchen. On Pico, the meal is served to the men less solicitously. Again, the men are served first. But when all the platters are placed within their reach, the women sit down to eat at the other end of the table, or in the kitchen, not giving the matter of the men's meal another moment's concern.

While the women are eating and cleaning up after the lunch, the men go back to finish with the pig. This entails slitting the carcass open, removing

the innards, and hanging the pig from the rafters in the *loja* where it will remain until the next morning. At this point the men's responsibility for the pig is over for the first day, but the real work for the women is just beginning. The men scatter to take care of other matters that need attending to in their own homes or on their land, and the women divide up the afternoon's work at the house hosting the *matança*.

The principal activity is the cleansing of the intestines and other organs, and the subsequent preparation of blood sausage, *morçela*, that will make up the evening's meal. Traditionally, the cleaning of the intestines is strictly women's work, particularly the younger, unmarried women. But, again, with the effects of out-migration, smaller families, and women marrying, on the average, a few years earlier than a half century ago, this division of labor by age becomes difficult to enforce. On Faial there was an effort to keep to the traditional age divisions, and while some married women had to clean the intestines, it was only the younger ones who would do that job. While this latter group does not actually resent having to do this smelly task, they joke about how they really should not be subjected to this anymore; they should be in the kitchen with the older women, preparing the food for the evening's meal. Cleaning the pig's full intestines is not in itself a pleasant task, so the only way to manage it is to make a joking time and challenge of it.

On Faial, men will have nothing to do with the cleaning of the intestines. When the time comes for the cleaning, all the men except the very elderly virtually disappear from the environs of the house. This is in large part due to their attitude that cleaning the intestines is strictly women's work. However it is also partly due to the fact that many of the men have wage jobs that occupy them during the week, and they can easily busy

themselves on the Saturday afternoon tending to chores on the land and other matters of that nature. In contrast, on Pico where the population is older and more people attending the *matança* adhere to an old idea of a flexible division of labor, there is much less adherence to gender and age distinctions. While no women participate in the slaughter and shaving of the pig because so few workers are needed for this task, men on Pico do assist in the cleaning of the intestines. This is not just a matter of numbers. On Pico men help with most aspects (kitchen-work excluded) of the *matança* where they are needed, regardless of whether the task is traditionally assigned to women. When they are not needed to work, they often stand by to observe. This does not occur on Faial where most men find it demeaning to be associated, even simply by their presence, with "women's work."

It takes a group of seven or eight people about two hours to transform the intestines into fresh-smelling, squeaky clean casings for sausage. They first empty the intestines out, continually pouring water through them until they are relatively clean. Then the intestines are scrubbed repeatedly in tubs full of, alternately, detergent, corn flour, sour oranges and water. The intestines are then turned inside out with the aid of bamboo poles, and the process is repeated. When the women are finished, everyone takes a sniff of approval. According to Borba Lopes Dias (1982) during the cleaning of the intestines the men reciprocate the women's kindness and bring them brandy to drink when they cry that the "tripe is dry." On Faial it is the older women who are in the kitchen cooking who provide this service for the younger women. This is one of the few occasions when it is condoned for Azorean women to drink. But it is limited to a small "shot" sized glass. The oldest woman present (who is able) comes out from the kitchen, smiling in anticipation, with the same tray as was used for the men. She fills the little

glasses from a bottle of homemade *angelica*, a sweet fig brandy. Each tripe cleaner takes a drink, joking as they sip the brandy. The bearer of the tray, who is not cleaning intestines, does not drink.

On Faial, the men stay as far as possible from the tripe-cleaning location which is usually a short distance away from the house. Scrubbing the intestines is women's work on Faial. But on Pico, as in other matters, the division of labor at the *matança* is not nearly as rigid, and if there are not sufficient women to do the job, some men lend a hand. While the women have no choice and must do all aspects of the dirty job, the men who help can choose the aspects of the job that they are willing to do.

As soon as the tripe is clean it is brought into the *loja*, or whatever location the women have been using to prepare the blood and onion filling for the *morçela* sausage. Making *morçela* is a messy job, and is never done in the kitchen. An older woman always comes out from the kitchen to supervise the sausage making. Two women are needed to hold open the intestine, two are needed to stuff in the filling, and another cuts the intestines to the appropriate length and stands by to tie the ends of the sausage with string. The sausages are then hung on a bamboo frame in the corner of the kitchen to set up. *Morçela* is a highlight of the evening meal.

After the *morçela* is finished there is very little work left to do regarding the *matança* before dinner. The older women have been cleaning the organ meats and cooking all afternoon, and take an hour or so to rest in the late afternoon. On Faial most retire to the living room to watch the daily soap opera. On Pico, although there are televisions in the houses, the women tend to congregate in the kitchen or the *loja* to rest their feet and talk. The younger women who have small children do not seem to find time to rest, and use this "intermission" to look after their children's needs, and catch up

on other domestic tasks such as washing some clothes at the well. The women then serve dinner around 7:00 pm. The food at dinner is more festive than the food served at lunch because it all comes from the freshly slaughtered pig. Since the pig has not been butchered yet, every dish consists of organ meats: sauted liver, stewed heart and lungs, *morçela* sausage. These are considered delicacies, and again the men enthusiastically express their appreciation. As usual, the men and women eat at separate tables or at separate times.

After the meal, the women clear the men's table. On Faial they drink wine and talk. On Pico they drink wine and play cards.¹ The women spend the entire evening washing the dishes and talking in the kitchen. Washing up after the *matança* meals is a time-consuming, labor-intensive process since many of the kitchens do not have running water, and water must be hauled from the household well and heated in large pots. By this the women are all very tired, and the younger women manipulate the situation so that they are doing the bulk of the work. But the women work slowly and thoroughly at the dishes, positioning themselves so as to take part in the group discussion that involves all of the dozen or so women in the room. At the Pico *matanças*, this prolonged time in the kitchen is especially important since many of the Pico families have members on Faial that they seldom see. The *matança* thus serves as a reunion. But even on Faial a large discussion also takes place between all the women, as many of them are inlaws, or have moved to another village and so do not get together with the others as often as they would like. Only rarely do men enter the kitchen to talk with the

¹ See Harder (1989) for a social analysis of the typical card game played in the Azores.

women after supper. And those that do are usually already labeled as slightly eccentric in one way or another.

The next morning the man designated as the butcher skins the pig in the *loja* while it remains hanging from the rafters. The women cut the skins into one-inch squares. Huge iron cauldrons are set up over a gas fire to boil the skin for the lard that is stored throughout the year and used as cooking oil. The cracklings, *torresmos*, are eaten like candy, and all the people involved in the *matança*, as well as neighbors just passing by, drop into the *loja* to sample them. This presents an unusual occasion where neighbors informally stop into people's homes and are given something to eat. The *loja* where the pig hangs is transformed into a kitchen for the *matança* weekend. However, since the butchering of the pig is a male job, the make-shift kitchen is not associated solely with females. Even so, on Faial all of the tasks except the butchering are usually done by women. Men stop by the *loja* to comment on the progress of the butchering, but they do not usually help with the preparation of the *torresmos* or the sausages. On one occasion I did witness a man helping with these tasks on Faial. He was Henrique, the young fiancé of Helena, a daughter of the host house. They have had a fairly traditional courtship, not being allowed to spend any time alone. However, Helena has been working in Horta for several years already, and she plans to continue after they marry. Theirs is going to be a modern marriage where the husband takes part in the household domestic labor, and Henrique's participation in the preparation of the *torresmos* signified his willingness to comply with Helena's plans. On Pico, most of the men at the *matanças* took great pleasure in participating in all the tasks, cooking and otherwise, that took place outside of the women's regular kitchen.

The first meat to be cut from the pig is the back portion, and it is this tender cut that is diced into tiny pieces and placed into a mixture of spices and herbs to marinate for three days before it is packed into the remaining intestines and made into *linguiça* sausage. The bulk of the pig is butchered after lunch, but some meat is made available for the afternoon's meal. A specialty frequently prepared for lunch is *torresmos do vinho do alho*, tender chunks of pork sauted in garlic and wine. After lunch, the rest of the pig is butchered and packaged for storage, and the *linguiça* mixture is completed and set aside until later that week. The highlight of dinner is a soup made from the pig's head: a thick mixture with pieces of wheat bread floating on top. The meat from the skull is picked and served in a separate bowl. Accompanying the meat at each meal is a great quantity of *inhames*, boiled taro root. Sometimes potatoes or beans are also served. Except for an hour or so before dinner on Saturday, the women are busy every moment of the weekend either processing the parts of the pig or cooking and cleaning.

Market Selling

Market selling, an activity of the public sphere, is predominantly women's work. However market selling on the islands is minimal. The size of the islands' markets varies with the demand of the urban population, and the largest, busiest market is located in Ponta Delgada on São Miguel. Faial's market in Horta has only ten stalls. Pico has no produce market at all, but freshly harvested produce is sometimes sold on the streets of the principal town, Madalena, from straw baskets carried by the producer. No more than two or three people at any one time can be seen selling vegetables on the streets.

Very little that is produced on Faial is available for sale in the market or the stores, and the people who vend from the ten fixed stalls (not including the two butcher shops which are frequently empty) have little to offer. Most shop owners rely on dry goods, eggs from São Miguel, cheese from Pico, São Miguel, São Jorge and Faial, and fresh produce imported from other countries. Commonly found items are onions and tomatoes from Spain and potatoes from Ireland that supplement the venders' meager supply of local cabbage, kale, carrots, taro, sweet potatoes, squash, small bananas, and sometimes, onions. Produce from Pico is generally better in quality than produce grown on Faial, and there is more variety, especially of fruit. Five women from Pico make the arduous trip across the channel from Pico to the Faial market daily with seasonal fruits and vegetables.

Daily passage between Pico and Faial is a time-consuming, often harrowing experience that even seasoned passengers do not take for granted. A person who wants to travel from the far side of Pico to Faial would have to leave the house by bus around 6:30 a.m. to arrive in Madalena, the port town on the Faial side of Pico, just before 8 a.m. The ferry, after being loaded with everyone's baskets and boxes and luggage, leaves the dock at 8:30 to arrive in Horta on Faial at 9:00, having crossed the most turbulent five mile channel in the Atlantic. In 1988, the cost of the bus and ferry round-trip was 660 *escudos*, or about \$4.30. Additional fees are charged for excess freight. Pico market women travel with their produce wrapped in large, sturdy baskets which they carry on their heads from the Horta port to the market on the other side of town. They set up shop, one next to the other, on the concrete benches in the center of Faial's open-air marketplace. These women almost always have the same agricultural product to sell, having bought from producers on Pico whatever was abundant and in season: apples, grapes, potatoes, large green

onions, chestnuts, oranges and pears. These items are generally not available for sale anywhere else, or if they are, such as the case of oranges and chestnuts in season, the women's selection is of better quality. The women do not compete with each other; they all charge the same price per kilo for a particular item, and haggling or aggressive sales behavior is never engaged in.¹ Food prices in the Azores are high, and the local produce is no exception, but the women virtually always go home with empty baskets. Towards the end of the research period, I on several occasions met one of these women in the Pico travel agency arranging a month-long trip for herself, her husband, and their son to visit relatives in Canada.

During the peak harvest season of figs, apples or grapes, five or six additional women will come from Pico to Faial and remain along the outside wall after the market closes, hoping to sell out completely. Inside the market, the women weigh the produce on a large scale that someone stores in one of the market stalls for them. But outside it is something of a guessing matter if the buyer does not want to purchase the kilo or two that the women pre-weighed and bagged before the market closed. Some of the itinerant venders, particularly those who have come especially to sell their own produce that has just been harvested, drag their customers to the shop of the hat sellers down the street, where they make use of the proprietor's scale. The hat sellers, being originally from Pico, themselves, maintain a network of relationships with the people from their side of the island, and while it is

¹ The exception to this is noticeable in the town of Praia da Vitória, on Terceira, near the United States airforce base at Lajes. Because of the heavy American presence, shopkeepers and venders have learned enough English to try to actively lure tourists and military personnel over to see their wares. Like in Mexican cities, for instance, but unlike anywhere else in the Azores, not even in populous, urbanized Ponta Delgada, men stand in the doorways of their shops talking loudly and insistently to all who pass by.

likely that they take a small percentage of the earnings, it is helpful for these people to have a scale to use and a place to store unsold produce until the next day. The itinerant venders who come to Faial from Pico are relatively few, but they make a tremendous difference in what is available for sale in the Faial market.

Chestnuts grow in abundance on Pico, and are greatly in demand for the celebration of All Saints' Day on November 1. Chestnuts are the only form of agricultural produce that I ever saw rural Faialense purchase. For all other kinds of produce, villagers make do with what they grow on their land, or exchange with other households in their extended family. Two men and one woman came for a few days in a row with figs from their own lands, and one elderly man came twice with a basket full of *groselhas*, the red currents that grow wild on his land. The man had approached me on the street shortly before the afternoon departure of the ferry, hoping I would buy a kilo of his strange-looking berries. Not knowing what they were, I obliged him anyway, having been taken in by his concern that his wife would be angry if he arrived back without an empty basket. After having looked for him repeatedly during the rest of the week, I asked the Pico regulars why the man did not return. "Oh, that's José," one of them explained to me, "Those berries just grow wild on his land, they're not really common around here. His wife makes him come over and sell them when they're ripe. It's not that he usually grows things to sell. It's just a thing he has to do because his wife tells him to."

Conclusion

Historically in the Azorean peasant economy, women's unpaid labor in agricultural fieldwork and the transformation of raw products into edible

and useful forms, as well as housework and childcare, has been essential to the survival and reproduction of the household. Women's work in the home was perceived as the functional counterpart to men's work in the fields and in the production of tools and other objects for household use. This is not to say that the peasant household is free of patriarchal relations of subordination. As Benería (1982:134) asserts, "The household cannot . . . be assumed to be a harmonious unit of consumption and production/reproduction." However, where household labor entails women's domestic and agricultural labor in combination with their husbands' agricultural labor to produce a subsistence living, women are in a stronger position of authority than are the wives of wage laborers at the present time. Older women claim--in a way that many of their daughters cannot--that they with their husbands have made the decisions that have directed the path of their lives. The division of labor by gender in the peasant household is more equal and flexible than in partially or fully proletarianized households because women's labor in the peasant household is viewed as socially valuable. An important factor in the relative complementarity in the household gender division of labor in the Azorean peasant economy has been that the *orientation* of both men and women has been toward the private sphere of the household, despite that their daily activities often take them physically outside the confines of the domestic domain. This economic and emotive orientation has been described as the "family economy," where the objective of household members is to maintain a subsistence level and possession of their land (Tilly and Scott 1978). Deere (1979; 1987) refers to this orientation as the attempt to reproduce the "moral/historical" level of subsistence. In this situation, even when one or more household members engage in wage labor, the gender relations in the household are not

significantly altered. When the subsistence level of the household is relatively assured, and the wage takes on the function of raising the household's standard of living, unpaid household labor does not diminish in function, but it becomes devalued in the eyes of the household's wage workers. This can be seen in the Azores, for instance, in the substitution of bakery bread for the traditional, labor-intensive cornbread, or men's increasing reluctance to participate in "women's" agricultural transformation tasks although they did so in the past. The subject of the following chapter is the changing nature of women's paid labor in the Azores from the mid nineteenth century putting out industries in lace and embroidery, through the present employment boom in the tertiary sector and the planned future of Azorean export processing.

CHAPTER 8

FROM THE PRIVATE TO THE PUBLIC SPHERE: WOMEN'S WAGE WORK IN THE AZORES

Introduction

Women's Wage Work: Locations in History

This chapter traces women's work activities on the Azores Islands from the introduction of wage work in the nineteenth century, to the recent (post-1974) movement of women into the public sphere. This progression from private as opposed to public labor patterns reflects the changing needs for women's labor in different historical periods. The movement of women's labor into the public sphere has been facilitated and complimented by state policies that are aimed at renegotiating the "official" position of women in society. The state, in other words, through a variety of institutional mechanisms ideologically reformulates its definition of what constitutes appropriate social behavior for women. This reformulation usually entails an expansion of the traditional definition of women's roles as opposed to the creation of an entirely new definition, as women are required to take on new productive tasks in addition to retaining responsibility for household reproduction. Thus, as men and women both become involved in wage labor, asymmetries in the household division of labor are reinforced, and women must become more flexible in the range of tasks that they perform (Mies 1982; Stolcke 1984).

Throughout their history, as I emphasized in the preceding chapter, the Azores Islands have been characterized by a peasant economy that is integrated into a world economy through cash cropping and commodity production. However, the first large scale effort to incorporate women into paid employment arose only as two of the last of these major agricultural export industries, oranges and wines, declined in the mid-nineteenth century. In part to make up for the loss of these industries, an artisanal craft industry in the production of hand made lace and embroidery was established on the islands. The craft industry depended on a system of labor deployment and production in the home that is frequently referred to as a "putting out" system of production.

In 1843 the islands suffered the first of a series of serious blights to the orange groves and vineyards that eventually destroyed these two industries entirely. Two years later, a young woman in the Dabney family initiated the "home industry" of embroidery as a means of providing the women of poor, rural and urban families with an income. The introduction of this industry was particularly significant for peasant households, as they could no longer earn income through cash cropping. Consequently, for many households the women's production of embroidered items and lace represented an important source of income. I begin my discussion in the nineteenth century, then, because of the role the lace and embroidery industry played in the Azorean economy generally and because of the impact it had on the structure of the Azorean household at the village level. Because of the decline in the export industry, the value of female labor increased as their contribution to household income became more significant. Yet since this labor activity was confined to the home, the prevalent social attitudes towards women remained intact. Thus, state policy had shifted to allow the incorporation of

women into the labor force but spatially and socially they remained in the private sphere.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century the world economy went into a recession and state policies and production patterns on the islands adjusted to this global economic crisis. The Salazar era (1926-1974) renewed the state's commitment to a rigid gender hierarchy, and women were encouraged to dedicate their energies to the raising of their children. One way or another, a man was to be the head of his household, and he was to provide for his family's sustenance. While men's work was ideologically defined as public sphere work taking place in the fields or otherwise away from the home, ideally, women's work was to be confined to housework and childcare in the domestic sphere. Even though ideological precepts did not conform with the material reality, women were legally bound to dependence on men and the state discouraged women's pursuit of economic activity. Azorean lace-making for export was reduced in volume during the Salazar era, but it continued on a small scale, particularly by unmarried daughters. Its decline reflected a combination of the pressures by the state and the Church, and the decreased American market for Azorean lace due to the depression years and the increasing availability of inexpensive machine-made laces.

With the 1974 socialist revolution and consequent political, social and economic reforms, a new impetus was created to incorporate women into the public sphere by means of prolonged schooling and wage labor. These reforms represent significant changes for Azorean households as women's productive and reproductive activities are increasingly carried out in separate spheres. This separation of reproduction and income earning activities generates new dynamics in intrahousehold relations between the sexes and between the generations. Yet as I argued in the previous chapter, part of the

productive process is still located in the Azorean rural household, even as household members engage in wage labor outside of the home. Most rural households, even if they contain wage workers, continue to produce agricultural subsistence crops.

In the following sections I trace the evolution of women's participation in paid employment in the Azores. Women were obviously involved in the productive process before the nineteenth century. However, since in this period handicraft specialization was aimed exclusively at women, and women's production was a crucial source of income, the nineteenth century seems to be an appropriate place to begin a detailed discussion of the movement of women's income earning activities from the domestic domain to the public sphere.

Nineteenth Century

Economic Activity in Nineteenth Century Azores

The nineteenth century was an era when the republicans were gaining influence in Portugal, the Church's power was waning, and the state was attempting to stimulate the economy. As is commonly the case when women are needed to facilitate economic development, political policies are modified to expedite the incorporation of women into the work force. Even in the nineteenth century the process conformed to Mies's (1982:4) general observation that "developmental strategies devised for women usually appear in the guise of 'progressive' or 'liberal' family laws." Thus while the republican platform concurred with the prevailing ideological notion that the woman's place was in the private sphere of the home, the republican doctrine also promoted an expanded role for women that would better equip them in motherhood (Rebello 1875; Vieira Caldas 1873). Lace and embroidery

production in the home suited this conception well. In "putting out" systems or "house industries" women can earn an income to help in the maintenance of the household without having to leave the domestic domain. In this way, the work does not necessarily disrupt the traditional gender division of labor in the household. While the female producers are integrated into a system of production for the world market, their social definition remains as housewives and not as workers and producers, and the low level of remuneration they receive for their work reinforces gender stereotyping (Benería and Roldán 1987; Mies 1982). It is unclear how Azorean lace-makers and embroiderers were regarded by their families during the nineteenth century. However we do know that they remained sorely underpaid even though the industry continued to develop and expand throughout the century when, because of the agricultural blights, there was little other means of earning an income. Craft production in the private sphere of the domestic domain was an important source of income for Azorean households until the early twentieth century when a combination of political and economic factors caused its decline, but not complete disappearance.

In nineteenth century rural Azorean households, family labor was allocated within the household, and all members were expected to work in some manner toward the maintenance of the family as a whole. As most of what the family used was produced by the household members--food, clothing, tools--the household was the site of production and consumption. Children began assisting their parents in the home and in the fields when still young. Men and women engaged in gender-specific work activities. But these activities were somewhat negotiable, and when extra labor was needed for a particular seasonal activity, all members of the household participated. Even though the islanders continued to engage in temporary wage labor (for

example, on the docks when ships came in), the household remained the primary sphere for productive activity. Despite the communal nature of much of household production a sexual division of labor nevertheless was maintained.

To understand the division of labor that structured activity within the productive domain of the household, it is necessary to consider the multiple strategies of wage labor, "putting out" and agricultural production for use and for exchange that defined domestic production. Ernesto Rebello (1885), an Azorean writer, describes the Faial household of the nineteenth century as hard-working and multi-faceted. He writes that the

head of the household, earned his living from the cultivation of some rented agricultural lands and hillsides, from which, in reality, he reaps little surplus, in spite of his hard work. The boys, his two sons, leave the parish every day at dawn, to go to work on the dock at the port of Horta, returning home when night has already closed in, after an hour and a half on the road. And his daughter, Maria da Encarnação, works all day, as long as the light permits, making lace and shawls from the fibers of the agave plant, which is difficult and delicate labor.

The [lace work] is a benefit to the poor classes of the Island of Faial. Hundreds of girls are employed in the making of the lace, in this way helping their families to live, even if in only a less than modest way. (Rebello 1885: 67-68)

Through periodic wage labor men participated in the public activity of island life. Women on the other hand, even though they contributed to the household budget through craft production were confined to the private sphere. Thus women were integrated into the public world of capitalist production but remained social captives of the private world of tradition. Tilly and Scott (1978) write that historically lace-making, straw plaiting, knitting, embroidery and similar pursuits have been low paid occupations

wherever they have been performed by women; but the small incomes generated by this activity have helped peasant families to survive in times of crisis. To understand the significance of even these small inputs into the household budget, it is important to highlight the impoverished and precarious economic base of the Azorean household in the nineteenth century.

Nineteenth century visitors to the Azores Islands (Boid 1835; Taft 1923; Twain 1966; Walker 1886; Webster 1821; Weeks 1882), were unanimous in their descriptions of the poor conditions under which Azorean peasants were living. From 1650 until the mid 1800s, Pico's principal industry was the production of its famous *verdelho* wine for international export. Oranges were also grown in considerable amounts on the both Faial and Pico for export. Cash cropping revolved around these two productive activities. However, by 1843, a series of blights had begun to attack the orange groves and vineyards, and within a decade these two major export industries on Pico and Faial were destroyed.

Aside from agricultural work during this period there were opportunities for Azorean males to find employment on whaling ships. Azorean whalers, particularly the Picoense, had become well-known for their expertise and courage on the sea since the first New England whalers entered Azorean waters in 1765. After the decline of the wine and citrus industries, many young boys from Pico and Faial sought their escape from poverty and military service by joining the whalers (Walker 1886). Some of these young men never returned, or only returned after many years, having taken the opportunity of the ship's ports of call in California or Hawaii to jump ship and emigrate to the United States. In 1832, John Dabney, an American Consul General stationed on Faial, began to establish a shore-whaling industry on the

island. After an unsuccessful start, the industry was under way on Pico, Faial and Graciosa by the 1850s. Pico supplied most of the whalers, and produced the boats and implements necessary to the industry (Harder 1989). Outside of whaling, wage work for men by the mid-1800s consisted of occasional manual labor, and temporary work on the dock at Horta which had become an important harbor where coal was taken on and produce exported. Wage work was thus available for men on a limited and decreasing scale on Pico and Faial in the nineteenth century.

Because of the dependence for cash income on an export economy,¹ the household was extremely vulnerable to any conditions that might disrupt this economy. With the decline in the production of Azorean cash crops by the mid point in the century, new economic strategies needed to be developed and any economic activity that helped support the peasant household would have been entertained during this period.

Women's Paid Work: Introduction of Craft Production for Export

The introduction of handicraft production in the Azores in a time of economic crisis followed a pattern that occurred in other regions of the world as well. Peasant households throughout Europe and elsewhere such as the Caribbean went through similar transformations when their economies declined. Establishment of the new industry on the Azores Islands was facilitated by the geographic location of the archipelago. Faial was the stop-off point for intercontinental merchant, whaling and passenger ship voyages; it was the seat of the American consulate on the islands; and at the end of the

¹ See Harder (1989) for a comprehensive discussion of the Azorean economy through history.

nineteenth century the island was the mid-Atlantic "anchor" point for the submarine telegraph cable lines. Faial thus saw continual traffic through its excellent harbor in Horta, and became a popular temporary residence for people of well-connected northeastern U.S. families (Rogers 1979; 1983). These families initiated the development of the lace-making industry on the islands. With the external conditions of transportation and their American market contacts, several of these Americans were quick to recognize the profit to be made from the intricate, labor-intensive handicrafts of Faial.

Another factor that would have encouraged merchants to bring craft production to the islands was the absence of any employment for women outside of domestic work. During the early part of the nineteenth century, there were few opportunities for rural women on the islands to earn a cash income. Azorean women made food items such as bread, butter and cheese in their homes for sale on the streets of the urban areas (Taft 1923). They also made cloth, linen and clothes, but these non-food goods were usually made for household use rather than for exchange. There are references in the Azorean literature (ADA 1982; Lima 1981; da Silva Ribeiro 1982) to the servant-filled homes of the wealthy and commercial families in the urban areas, and it is highly likely that the consular families on Faial and other foreigners resident on the islands also employed servants. There is no information in these accounts concerning where these servants came from. However, elderly rural women on Faial talk about women having worked as domestic servants in Horta when they were young in the early decades of this century, and rural women may have been doing this work in earlier periods as well.

In the mid 1800s, the introduction of homework in lace and embroidery produced for export expanded women's income earning

opportunities first on Faial with a later extension to Pico. For women, this facilitated their exploitation as a cheap labor source via their incorporation into home production of artisanal crafts for sale on the world market.

Through the efforts of the Dabney family and later other Americans the handicrafts were exported primarily to the northeastern United States.

Lace-making as relief for the poor

Continental Portugal, was a late entrant into the commercial lace industry in the mid 1700s, and lace making did not arrive in the Azores until a century later. Lace production had begun in Italy before the sixteenth century, and then spread to France, Flanders and England (Jackson 1900; Schwab 1951). In and of the colonial world, hand lace-making was an activity introduced from the mid nineteenth century onwards by charitable elites or missionaries, to help rural peoples in times of famine, or generally to help alleviate debilitating poverty. In these cases it was initiated by women who acted as organizers of production, trainers in the necessary skills, exporters, and on the market end, distributors. Mies (1982) describes the situation surrounding the establishment of a lace industry in Narsapur, India in 1860 in exactly this manner. Similarly, it was wealthy Irish society women who initiated the training and organization of poor female producers, and who became the principal merchants involved in the export of finished handiwares. For example, Meredith (1900) provides an account of the establishment of the lace industry in Ireland in 1865. Meredith's account, although somewhat elitist, is instructive in that it illuminates the ideological and social conditions in which poor women entered the lace industry in Ireland, and by extension, elsewhere in the mid nineteenth century. The Irish case study offers by way of an example insight into the process that took

place in the acceleration of the handmade lace and embroidery industry in the Azores Islands, where it also was initiated as to give poor women access to cash income. Meredith, in her *Attempt to Record the Efforts of Irish Women to Help Themselves*, writes that

when famine ravaged Ireland in 1847, women were found inspired with an energy to work that was truly surprising. . . . The eagerness to obtain means of support was so pressing, that a perfect clamour for employment arose....Women of the upper ranks developed an extraordinary skill in needlework, and also, a great commercial aptitude to turn it to a profitable account. . . . Ladies burst the bonds of conventionalisms, and went regularly into business, to procure remunerative occupation for the destitute of their own sex. The female children of the poor, all over the land, became the subjects of instruction in the making up of various sorts of articles for sale. . . . When men's hands were useless, little girls' fingers, by means of this lace-work, provided for families. (Meredith 1900:6, 17)

Schools were set up in Ireland for embroidery, crochet (lace), knitting, netting and tatting, most of which were headed by women. The elite benefactors were a mixed blessing for the Irish lace-makers. While they helped the poor Irish women develop a skill that brought the impoverished households some income, producers did not have control of the distribution of their product, and they remained at the mercy of a patronizing, hierarchical organization. The heroines of Meredith's account are not the producers who provided for their families during the famine, but the elite women who established the industry. Yet, Meredith was concerned that she and her friends had created a monster: that increased incomes were not only leading to "the deteriorated morals of the lower classes" (p. 18), but that so many women were earning a living making lace, that the wealthy classes were having difficulty finding domestic servants. Contrary to Meredith's assertion,

it is unlikely that poor women working in the putting out system, in a notoriously under-paid industry, earned such quantities of fast money as to undermine their morals and behavior.

Establishment and expansion of the handicraft industry

In the Azores as in Ireland, charity was the motivational factor that pushed the Azorean middlewomen. The Dabney family, whose successive male members served as American Consul Generals in residence from 1806 to the last decade of the nineteenth century was particularly influential in craft making on Faial. Rogers (1979; 1983), a linguist and Dabney biographer, describes the Dabneys as well-loved and admired for their charitable activities on the part of the local people. The family was also an extensive commercial family from Massachusetts, and the Dabney women were in large part responsible for the dissemination of Faial's handicrafts abroad. In 1845, it was Clara Dabney, the 25 year old daughter of Consul General Charles William Dabney, who initiated the first large-scale export connection. Clara Dabney performed the intermediary functions for the production, shipping and sale to the United States of embroidered, white cotton socks (Rebello 1885). Decorative socks such as these were worn over the stockings and inside the boot, and were at that time essential articles of women's fashion and much in demand in America (Earnshaw 1985).

During the twenty years that Clara Dabney exported embroidered socks to Boston (purportedly keeping no profit for herself), the handiwares brought in somewhere from three hundred to four hundred thousand *reis*, at the unit

price of 720 to 840 *reis* per pair for the producer.¹ Items that sold for impressive prices in elegant stores in New York and Boston, brought so little remuneration for the Azorean women who made them, that to accumulate any savings, the women had to produce as much volume as possible. But for high quality work, high volume is an elusive goal, as Earnshaw (1985:115) in a social history of lace-making remarks: "Hand lace-making can never be speeded: it can only be badly paid." As in the Indian region Mies (1982) studied, shortly after the establishment of the industry and the organization and training of rural women producers, the "charitable ladies" for the most part give way to exploitative, largely male, capitalist entrepreneurs.

Once Clara Dabney set in motion the export of handicrafts to America, Azorean women were able to earn meager incomes in the production of a variety of goods, some of which they were already familiar with, others that required training. Other entrepreneurs quickly expanded upon the efforts of the Dabneys. Rebello (1885) writes that in 1850, Mr. Hasper, an English gentleman residing in Boston, sent a French black silk hat embroidered with straw to his sister living on Faial with instructions to see if the local women could reproduce the hat.

As elsewhere in Europe, lace-making and embroidery were pastimes of elite women before they became livelihoods of the poor (Meredith 1865). Hasper's sister thus prevailed upon Joanna Emmerson Ferreira, a wealthy woman from Faial who was highly skilled in the needle arts, to figure out

¹ To reach an appreciation for the undervaluation of women's labor, we can consider the value of the *reis* in the mid-1800s by examining the expenses of Mark Twain's host in a Faial restaurant in 1869. That year about 1000 *reis* were equal to one American dollar, with a bottle of wine costing 1,200 *reis*; a cigar costing 100 *reis*; and a full-course meal costing 600 *reis* (Twain 1966:41). A woman's labor to produce a pair of fine embroidered cotton socks, then, brought her the equivalent of 75 cents, a bit more than the price of a meal in a restaurant she likely would never have imagined herself entering.

how to make the hat. In this way, the women of the Azores, living on the periphery of a peripheral region of Europe, became directly integrated in a disadvantaged way into the world production for market of hand-made textiles. Articles embroidered with Faial straw became a sensation in the United States, and in a limited way in Russia and elsewhere, and more and more rural women on Faial and other Azorean islands were trained to meet production demands. In addition to hats, straw and white or black silk embroidery was used for dresses, shawls, capes, straps, neck scarves and head scarves. Sra. Ferreira, having set herself up in the business of contract for export, eventually also dealt in embroidery and lace in white cotton. The latter was made in the drawn lace or pulled lace method with over-embroidery, and was particularly adapted for hemlines or borders. Women of the Azores usually made it into ornamental towels and napkins for religious uses (Rebello 1885).

Hasper was also responsible, from 1852 onward, for initiating the export to America of articles made from a fiber taken from the leaves of the agave (aloe) plant, which grows throughout Faial and many of the other islands. Women made shawls, delicate baskets, fans, and table mats. Rebello claims that Hasper virtually established the industry in Faial, to the benefit, albeit temporary, of the rural female producers. The agave fiber was the most delicate to handle of all the different fibers used, yet the Azorean women who worked with this fiber were extremely poorly remunerated.

These works are provident for the decent life of many peasant girls, until, ultimately, diverse exploiters will have diminished their salary, those who make the true profit being the foreign markets. (Rebello 1885:71)

[The articles were] perfectly executed, for a rather minute price, works that at times seemed more like works of

fairies than of poor village girls, isolated in remote locations. (Rebello 1885:68)

The initial charitable intentions of the merchants took on a different more ruthless character as the profits from lace-enterprise increased. The Azores gained a good reputation within North America for its lace, and through the nineteenth century women were increasingly drawn into participation in the craft. While Portuguese writers say that Azorean lace and embroidery was as well-executed as that of any other nation (Lima 1981; Rebello 1885), did not find a large market, likely since it was distributed almost exclusively in the northeastern United States. Despite increases in production, Azorean lace work does not appear to have been able to compete with European hand-made and machine textiles.

To attempt to gear production to a market that was not already over-saturated, Hasper began to export straw hats to the United States in 1848. The hats required less skill to produce than did embroidery and lace. Rebello (1885) writes that coarse straw was used, enabling the production of about ten hats in a twelve to fourteen hour period. This was an extraordinarily low paid activity at thirty *reis* per hat (amounting to an hourly wage of about 2.5 cents), but sales were assured and production could be done at odd hours. In contrast to lace-making which was exclusively done by women, even the men and young children of poor peasant families engaged in the production of hats. Hat making was a particular specialty of the island of Pico where fewer opportunities were available to earn cash than on Faial, especially after the decline of the wine industry.

From 1845 to 1909, the industry had grown from a few select, elite, urban women making lace for their own amusement, to an organized system of home production in the rural areas. Rural women were provided with

cloth, thread and designs--"on them nothing else fell except to execute the task; summing up their activity in the role of operators" (Baptista 1909:457). The rural producers, while working in their own homes, were involved in relations of production akin to pieceworkers. They were prohibited creative input, and had no control over distribution of the finished product or the price they received for their work.

Most references to lace making in nineteenth century Azores cite unmarried daughters as the primary producers, probably because they had more time to devote to the occupation than did their mothers. Yet Baptista (1909:458) noted that it was remarkable how "girls have the patience to do such divine work," considering that "they at any moment would be called away to their incessant domestic and farm chores, and in the majority of cases living in habitations whose small, dark interiors made it so difficult to see." However the women had little choice, and this continued for Azorean producers in most rural areas until the 1960s.

The Economic Context: Production and Reproduction

Capitalist entrepreneurs recognized that these conditions of need were exactly the conditions that caused rural women to devote large amounts of time to a low paid activity such as home-based embroidery or lace-making. The entrepreneurs took advantage of this fact, fully exploiting the rural women as sources of cheap labor. The labor of female producers who work from their homes is typically viewed by males as secondary to their own, regardless of how much time and effort is put in by the women (Roldán 1985), or if the income they earn constitutes the majority of household income (Mies 1982). The system works particularly well in societies where women ideally are secluded at home, as on both sides of the Mediterranean, but is

supported anywhere by the maintenance of a "housewife" ideology. For example, Lever (1988:18) writes that in rural Spain: "A male entrepreneur described embroidering as 'not proper work, because it is done in a woman's free time, between tending her children.'" And in Narsapur, India, women who sometimes are the primary supporters of their households are nevertheless viewed as "sitting in the house." Lace dealers defend the low wages they pay by propagating the belief that women crochet in their spare time after the housework, simply to have something to fill their time (Mies 1982:11).

Lace, especially on clothing, has moved over the centuries from a symbol of power, to one of wealth, status and romance, to, with the advent of affordable machine-made laces, one of pure romance. But if lace has signified romance to the wearer, it has meant something else entirely to the producer. The Azores were not unique in the miserable conditions under which the lace-makers worked, nor the pitiful remuneration they received. Machine-made lace was developed at the beginning of the nineteenth century and by the 1840s it was already fairly available. This was just the time when the Azores began to accelerate its participation in the hand-made lace industry. Earnshaw (1985:97) writes that "hand-made laces were losing the economic battle even before the nineteenth century ended." However, not only Azorean producers, but female home producers in the traditional centers of the finest hand-made lace--such as cities in Flanders and England--continued to be exploited for their desperation and their skills (Earnshaw 1985).

The unusual Azorean woman who was able to work the entire day making lace could earn 160 to 200 *reis* per day. This rate was a slight increase from the 80 to 100 *reis* paid for a day's work just five years earlier, and was

due to increased orders from the United States (Baptista 1909). Earnshaw (1985:108) sums up the ironies involved in lace production and marketing:

Romance is by definition a fiction or wish-fulfillment. Lace, as a fabric, had never been romantic: the realities of its existence were hard work, skill, money and status. The plight of the people who made the laces, right through the centuries, had been one of extreme distress most of the time. They worked incredibly long hours, they were extremely badly paid, they were cheated by merchants. The people who wore the lace were for the most part vain, arrogant, egotistical and proud. Perhaps they appreciated the artistry of the lace, but it seems rather more likely that it was simply a symbol made use of, through a 300 year period, to inflate their visible importance.

Lace production for export is not an industry that has persisted on a large scale in the Azores, but it was important to the islands' economy and to the survival of rural households during the nineteenth century, and to a smaller extent, until two or three decades ago. As home producers of handicrafted items for the world market, Azorean peasant women have been integrated into capitalist production. As such, they were, to use Mies' (1982) term, only "semi-domesticated," despite their primary identification with reproductive, domestic labor. Mies's term "semi-domesticated" reflects the lace-makers' social identification as housewives.

Azorean women's roles in the private sphere as wives and mothers were the focus of their identity in the nineteenth century. Opportunities for women to earn money were limited to 1) domestic labor performed in the homes of others--an extension of the reproductive role outside the home; 2) home production of food items for sale such as butter, cheese and bread--an extension of domestic tasks for exchange rather than use; or 3) home production of embroidery, lace and straw hats--non-domestic tasks performed in the domestic sphere. All three categories of activities, in different ways

enabled the combination of reproductive labor and work for income. While the first category, domestic labor performed in other people's houses, physically separated the woman's workplace from her own domestic sphere, one locus of reproductive work was exchanged for another. Familiar skills were necessary for performance of the job. In the Azores today and in earlier decades of this century young, unmarried women are more often domestic servants than are married women, and this may have been the case in the nineteenth century also. Some women who currently work as *mulheres de dias*, day domestics, are older, divorced women. They are often allowed to utilize the modern amenities of their employers' homes to do their own domestic chores. However it is not known whether women were able to minimize the repetition of tasks necessary to the maintenance of both their own and their employer's homes in this way during the nineteenth century.

With categories 2 and 3 of women's work, production and reproduction were not separated, and were both accomplished in the home. In category 2, women made an extra amount of food items they normally made for household consumption, and sold the excess. This entailed the investment of additional labor time in food production, but the tasks could be integrated into the woman's normal daily routine. Category 3, the production of decorative textiles, also did not separate productive and reproductive activities. In this way, low wages for craft production were rationalized by the view that production was done in a woman's "spare time." But poor, rural women did likely not have "spare time." From nineteenth century accounts such as Rebello's (1885), it seems that if they had to engage in craft production to earn income, they did so in addition to their normal domestic chores, when other people were resting. And in households of more than one woman, the younger women devoted a good

portion of their days to production work, while the older women took the primary responsibility for the daily housework, assisted by the younger women for certain tasks. In the nineteenth century, embroidery and lace sometimes brought in the majority of the cash income of the household because it afforded more steady work than was available for men (Rebello 1885).

During the world economic depression, the economic situation changed for women on the Azores Islands. The making of lace and other handicrafts persisted to some extent, but as exports world-wide generally declined, handicrafts and all economic activity on the islands related to export also declined. It was at this time that Salazar came to power and instituted the patriarchal policies of his *Estado Novo*.

The Twentieth Century

The Salazar Era

During Salazar's regime, women rarely engaged in wage labor. Girls were instructed in school about moral and spiritual behavior, and women were cautioned to curtail any activity that would interfere with their primary role as mothers and wives. Married women were particularly discriminated against in the *Estado Novo*, and their economic activities were formerly circumscribed by legal restrictions. A woman was forbidden to contract debts or obligations without the authorization of her husband. A woman could not acquire or sell goods without her husband's authorization, and a husband had control over the administration of the couple's common goods, including those goods that belonged to the woman before marriage. Specific

authorization was required for each individual act that a woman wanted to engage in (Riegelhaupt 1967: 112).

Although women's activity was legally restricted, women occasionally sold products they made in the home. And the low status, low paid job of teaching primary school was performed entirely by women. During the Salazar years, home production of crafts for export continued, but to a lesser extent. Machine-made lace, which had already been in existence for over a century, was by the mid-1900s readily available at an affordable price in the United States, and there was less of a demand for the Azorean product. One elderly Faial woman from a poor, peasant family recalls that she and her three sisters learned to crochet lace as young girls, and they made lace for sale when they could manage it "in order to buy material for a new dress." Even with several girls in the family, the peasant lifestyle of mid-twentieth century Azores left little "spare" time, and the girls were very poorly paid for their labor-intensive work. This particular family produced sufficient food for their subsistence, and lace-making provided cash for their few expenses and for extras that the girls wanted. In other families, the meager income generated by lace-making was used by the household to buy essentials. On Pico, an elderly woman says that she continued to make lace to earn income after her marriage, but she was always searching for a more lucrative and less time-consuming way to make money that was also less punishing to her eyes. Both women recall how straining the work was on their eyes, particularly since the time they could allot to the work fell in the late afternoon or evening.

Electricity was introduced in the majority of rural villages on Pico and Faial after the 1974 revolution. The custom of sewing in the afternoon is based partly on the old way of life when electricity was unavailable and partly

to keep the electrical bill low. Even today village women try to use the afternoon daylight coming into the window for as long as it lasts. In the past, they continued to work in the evening by the dim light of a gas lantern. Now, since the installation of electricity, the women marvel that they were able to produce such delicate work with such poor illumination.¹

Increased light power was not the only change that befell Azorean women following the revolution. Salazar's policies of social and economic seclusion were completely reversed as the new socialist government stressed change that involved not only modifications in political strategy but the elimination of constraints that had kept women confined to the private sphere.

Women's Wage Labor in the Post-Revolutionary Years

Law and State Policy

Among the objectives of the revolutionary governments following April of 1974 was a reorientation of Portugal's political and economic policies to reflect the new state program supporting openness, European integration, and economic development. To work towards these ends and make up for the stagnation of the Salazar years, both women and men had to be more highly incorporated into the public sphere of education, work and politics. While men had long been defined as participants of the public sphere, in the rural, isolated, or insular regions such as the Azores, men's as well as women's lives had been oriented toward and dominated by the private sphere of interaction. However, the law did acknowledge women's particular

¹ See Appendix E for a life history illustrating the diverse economic strategies that were employed by Azorean households in the mid-twentieth century.

disadvantage under the preceding regimes. Attention was paid during policy formation to create laws and measures that would give women equal opportunity with men for education and training, and that would incorporate women into the expanding wage labor force. The revolutionary constitution (and subsequent amendments) included articles that specifically addressed women's position in the family, in the workplace, and in Portuguese society. The concept "head of the family," or "head of the household" was abolished, as was a husband's right to open his wife's mail. Laws were enacted granting equal pay for equal work, and the right of all citizens to choose any kind of employment or vocation, or run for political office. Laws established mechanisms for the dissemination of family planning and birth control information and technology, and for the creation of a nationwide network of child care centers. Paid maternity leave from work for a 90 day period at childbirth was written into the civil code. Like during past regimes in Portugal, the family was still upheld as an essential social institution, and the laws specified that

the State recognizes motherhood as a pre-eminent social value, protecting the mother and her right to the satisfaction of her specific needs in her unique role in the upbringing of her children and guaranteeing her right to self-fulfillment through work and to participation in her country's civic life. (Portuguese Constitution)

Fatherhood as well as motherhood are respected by law, and a decree-law of 1980 made provisions for flexible working hours and the ability for either fathers or mothers to take time off to care for sick children or other family members. Never-the-less, the wording of the constitution at once fosters and undermines a woman's abilities to seek an occupation outside the home. It assumes the mother's primacy in childcare, alluding to the common notion

of a mother's "natural" role in the upbringing of her children. Yet, as I discuss in more detail elsewhere in this document, while many young, currently unmarried women on Pico and particularly, Faial, claim a disinterest in marriage and motherhood, most mothers on these islands do take pride and satisfaction in the years they have devoted to the upbringing of their children.

In regard to women's formal incorporation into public sphere activity, ideology and government legislation do not necessarily represent reality. Five years after the revolution, women still only comprised on the average of 6.6% of the elected officials on the local level Azorean councils and assemblies (see Appendix H). Women are currently incorporated into the wage labor force on the continent to a higher degree than on the Azores, and despite legislation for equality, Portuguese women continue to be discriminated against in the labor market. Women do not receive equal pay for equal work; they are concentrated in certain lower status, lower paid professions; they are passed over for promotions in favor of men, despite their qualifications; and job advertisements explicitly discriminate against women (Caetano 1986; Martins Cosmelli 1986).

The Preservation of Traditional Crafts and the Employment of Women

Increasingly, as even subsistence producers are finding more needs for a cash income, people interested in development are coming to recognize the necessity of providing mechanisms for rural women to earn money in nonagricultural activity. Rural women are often less educated, more isolated, and have less mobility than urban women, and they have more difficulty finding ways to earn money (Charlton 1984). It has been observed by scholars that in developing countries, handicraft production, one of the few means of

earning cash available to rural women, bring women so little in return for their effort that their energy would be better used in some other way (Chaney 1987). Remuneration for craft production was extremely low in nineteenth century Azores, but women had little other alternative. Today there are alternatives and women are reluctant to invest their time in poorly remunerated activities. Young women spend more years in school and have their sights set on "white collar" wage jobs. These factors in combination with the wide variety of monetary inputs they receive from the government in the form of subsidies, inhibits women's desire to invest the time in learning to produce crafts for sale.

The danger of the specialized knowledge of handicraft production dying out completely is so acute that the Azorean regional government has begun to take an interest in trying to preserve it. In the earlier part of this century, other European governments established both commercial and non-commercial schools of lace-making for this same reason (Earnshaw 1985:102). In a similar but less elaborate vein, the Azorean government--with grants from the European Economic Community--is now sponsoring institutionalized means to preserve and transmit to the younger generations the knowledge of Azorean lace-making, weaving and other crafts. In the Azores, the *Educação Permanente* department of the Ministry of Education was established in the early 1980s, and except for literacy training and music, is currently oriented particularly to the interests of women. Besides these two courses, classes are taught in lace-making, knitting, crocheting, sewing, typing, theater, and on some islands, weaving. The organizers of the *Educação Permanente* stress the teaching of "traditional" handicrafts, but there really is little interest in classes of that sort on the part of either female or male Azoreans. Because of the preference for types of employment other than

handicraft production, lacemaking classes are difficult to fill. Traditionally male handicrafts such as basketry are rarely taught in the *Educação Permanente* program. Pottery, another important male handicraft in the past is not taught, and the art and industry are almost completely dying out on the islands.¹ Despite the stated goals of the *Educação Permanente* program of contributing to the equality of opportunity between women and men, and enhancing the self-esteem and self-image of women, the program in effect follows a stereotypical system of sex-typing. The *Educação Permanente* is aimed primarily at disseminating male literacy training for better preparation in the public sphere, and female manual and creative skills initially in preparation for production for household use, but also possibly for exchange. Women put their new skills in sewing and knitting to use immediately in the production of articles of clothing for their families that they could never afford to buy because of the high prices. However an important goal of the program is to organize the women into an official group for the purposes of production and sales. This objective is consistent with the state's policies oriented toward reintegrating women into the public sphere of paid employment. As in the nineteenth century when women's labor was needed in the production of handicrafts to provide income for Azorean households, handicraft skills may once again fill this need. On a large scale, women's manual skills can eventually be put to use in factory production, which is part of the future plans for the Azores with the integration of the European

¹ Tourist brochures still claim that the production of these handicrafts is ubiquitous throughout the islands, but the interested tourist would have a difficult time finding producers or their wares for purchase. See Appendix 6 for a discussion of the last remaining potter in Vila Franca do Campo on São Miguel.

Community. On a smaller and more immediate scale, women's skills can be channeled through handicraft cooperatives.

Handicraft cooperatives

While males are no longer expected to spend their time making handicrafts, craft production is still seen by the state as an activity appropriate for women. As Mies (1982) argues, women are not seen as the primary workers in the household, so a poorly remunerated activity that can be done in flexible hours is more suitable for them. However, one of the objectives of the director of the Faial branch of the *Educação Permanente* is to elevate women's craft production into a respected, lucrative occupation. She is working toward the creation of a training and sales program for artisans. Monies from the EEC have already been earmarked for establishment of the program. The director is particularly interested in getting women to learn the dying art of lace-making, but the program would also include women who sew, knit and crochet "modern" styled articles. The plan is to pay the women salaries for four hours of work a day while they are initially learning and after while they are producing, and the regional government will arrange an outlet for the women to sell their products and retain the profits. To begin with, ten women from five different parishes are slated to participate. However, the program ran into administrative, funding and other difficulties, and it did not materialize by the end of my fieldwork period.

State and EEC economic inputs are allocated to the different islands according to political interests and power. Terceira is the administrative seat of the Azorean *Educação Permanente*, and it is not surprising that on that island a successful cooperative has been in operation since 1984. The example of the cooperative on Terceira is instructive in terms of the pattern that

future cooperatives on other islands are likely to follow. The Terceira cooperative developed from an afternoon weaving class in the *Educação Permanente* program. Women who did not know how to weave beforehand attended the class for eight months, and at its conclusion decided to set up a weaving and craft cooperative in the city of Praia da Vitória near the American airforce base. Almost all of the woman involved had not worked outside of the home before, and their husbands attended the organizational meeting to make sure that they approved of what was being arranged. The husbands' attendance was partially a cultural holdover from before the revolution when women were legally prohibited from arranging business matters for themselves. It was decided that the co-op would not open before 2 pm and would close at 7 pm to allow time for the women's domestic responsibilities, especially cooking the large Azorean lunch and small evening supper for their husbands. The membership has remained fairly constant at about 11 women, most of whom are between the ages of 45 and 55.

The evaluation of whether more craft cooperatives would benefit Azorean women depends on the perspective taken. Since the production of handicrafts is dependent on labor intensive and time consuming skills that are traditionally associated with women and women's unpaid work in the home, it is often rationalized that the price of the products can be kept quite low (Charlton 1984) and thus women make very little for their labor. Also, using the Terceira cooperative as a prototype for future establishments, it can be seen that although the plans for a cooperative on Faial call for the involvement of 50 women, organizing that large a number of women has been part of the problem, and the cooperatives might end up being small scale and thus would not accommodate many workers. Distance from the population center where the cooperative headquarters are located would be a

discriminating factor in which women would be involved. There is currently limited call in the Azores for craft products, but this may increase as tourism is further developed on the islands.

The women in the Terceira cooperative are not entirely independent in that they were originally organized by the state Ministry of Emigration and they continue to use government contacts for the majority of their sales which are export sales made to order. But the women have what Howell (1986) refers to as a higher labor status than did their forbearers who produced from their homes for sale to capitalist intermediaries. The cooperative members are in control of most of the means of production, and they can sell their product directly when there are customers. It is not clear whether the government is exploiting the women's labor by keeping a profit on these sales, but the women seem to think that they are getting a full and fair price.

And in the Terceira case, the cooperative fills a social and economic niche for a particular group of women who otherwise would have no entrance into the public sphere of work. These are women who have not worked outside of the home before, and who are too old and not academically prepared for any of the new jobs that are opening up in the islands' cities. The cooperative is beneficial to the women in that it serves as a unique mechanism for breaking the isolation of each woman in her own home, while providing them a means to earn a modest income in an environment free of the atomistic individualism characteristic of most wage labor. While a primary objective of the group is to make sales and earn money, their system is based on communal interaction and a cooperative exchange of work. Since many of the articles they make are large and multi-faceted, the women coordinate the production, with several women contributing their particular skills and the time that they have available. The proceeds from the sales are

divided according to the number of hours that each woman worked during the week, not according to who worked on a particular item that was sold. It is immediately evident to the observer that the women take pride not only in their individual work, but in the cooperative as a whole.

While the government has tried to promote craft activity, most of its efforts in attempting to direct women into the labor force has been in building up the tertiary sector. The craft production programs are aimed at older women while programs geared to secretarial and other office work are directed at younger women.

Women's Participation in Wage Labor in the Azores

In the Azores, revitalization of the economy has primarily directed labor to the tertiary sector. Education facilities were expanded, and teenagers have been encouraged to remain in school beyond the obligatory six years. The incentive for investing the years in a high school education is the possibility of obtaining a prestigious white collar job in the burgeoning post-revolutionary national and regional governmental bureaucracies. After almost a half century of dictatorship when the possibilities of social mobility were virtually nonexistent, the children of peasants, both male and female, can now be banker and government employees, and office workers in private commercial and tourism firms.

The tertiary sector in the Azores got its largest impetus after the revolution, particularly in recent years with inputs from the European Economic Community. But on Faial, the tertiary sector had already begun to expand significantly by 1970. For the Azores as a whole in 1981, the tertiary sector employed just under 43% of the economically active population, and it is projected that this number will increase to 46% by 1996 (Fortuna 1984).

The expansion of the tertiary sector has not been even throughout the islands. Pico and Faial can be compared in this respect. Horta, Faial's principal city, is the seat of the regional assembly, contains a research branch of the University of the Azores, is the location of the central or subsidiary offices of most regional government departments, has large, new modern hospital facilities, has a busy commercial port and yacht harbor, is a focus of touristic development, and is one of the three major commercial centers in the archipelago. Conversely, Pico has far fewer government offices and private businesses, and the people are dependent on Faial for many government, health and commercial services. Although Pico is a beautiful and interesting island to visit, and new hotel facilities are being constructed, Pico has gained a reputation among tourism planners as only a day-trip destination while staying in a hotel on Faial. Consequently, there is considerably more employment available in government, tourism and commerce on Faial than on Pico.

Table 8.1
Rate of Economic Participation in the Tertiary Sector (%)

| <u>Pico</u> | | | <u>Faial</u> | | |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| <u>1950</u> | <u>1970</u> | <u>1981</u> | <u>1950</u> | <u>1970</u> | <u>1980</u> |
| 10.0 | 13.0 | 26.4 | 28.0 | 42.0 | 53.4 |

Source: DREPA 1984b, *População e Emprego*

Table 8.2

Percentage Employed by Economic Sector and Activity, 1985

| <u>SECTOR AND ACTIVITY</u> | <u>Total</u> | <u>Women</u> | <u>Men</u> |
|-------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| Total | 100.0 | 25.7 | 74.3 |
| <u>PRIMARY SECTOR</u> | <u>28.5</u> | <u>1.5</u> | <u>27.0</u> |
| Agriculture | 25.7 | 1.5 | 24.2 |
| Fishing | 2.8 | 0.0 | 2.8 |
| <u>SECONDARY SECTOR</u> | <u>29.2</u> | <u>8.3</u> | <u>20.9</u> |
| Food Processing | 5.5 | 2.0 | 3.5 |
| Textiles | 6.0 | 5.8 | 0.2 |
| Wood and Paper | 1.5 | 0.2 | 1.3 |
| Chemicals | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.2 |
| Metals | 0.8 | 0.0 | 0.8 |
| Electricity | 1.2 | 0.1 | 1.1 |
| Construction | 14.0 | 0.2 | 13.8 |
| <u>TERTIARY SECTOR</u> | <u>42.3</u> | <u>15.9</u> | <u>26.4</u> |
| Commerce | 8.4 | 2.7 | 5.7 |
| Restaurants and Hotels | 1.7 | 0.8 | 0.9 |
| Transports, Storage, Communications | 5.7 | 1.0 | 4.7 |
| Banks and Securities | 1.5 | 0.1 | 1.4 |
| Public Administration | 8.0 | 1.9 | 6.1 |
| Education | 4.9 | 3.7 | 1.2 |
| Health | 2.0 | 1.7 | 0.3 |
| Other services | 10.1 | 4.1 | 6.0 |

Source: SREA, 1985, *Enquérito ao Emprego*

The decrease in number of males and females on Pico and Faial that were potentially economically active from 1970 to 1981, shown in Table 8.3, reflects the decrease in population on the islands.

Table 8.3
Potentially Active Population on Pico and Faial: Ages 15-64

| <u>Island</u> | <u>1970</u> | <u>1981</u> | <u>%</u> |
|---------------|-------------|-------------|----------|
| <u>Pico</u> | | | |
| Men | 5820 | 4737 | -18.6 |
| Women | 5405 | 4623 | -14.5 |
| Total | 11225 | 9360 | -16.6 |
| <u>Faial</u> | | | |
| Men | 4870 | 4497 | -7.8 |
| Women | 5160 | 4649 | -9.9 |
| Total | 10030 | 9146 | -8.8 |

Source: *Análise Demográfica: 1970-1981*, DREPA 1984a

Of the total potentially economically active population on the Azores, the percentage of effectively economically active has risen from 47.4% in 1970 to 51.6% in 1981.¹ In 1981, the rate of economically active on Pico was lower than the regional average, at 50.5%, and on Faial it was higher than the regional average, at 53.4%. Of these economically active rates, 17.9% were female in the total Azores, 14.9% were female on Pico, and 25.3% were female on Faial (DREPA 1984a). Of the total number of women in the Azores who are in the economically active age range, only 20% were working or looking for a job in 1981. The comparable 1981 figure for men in the Azores was 92%, and for women in continental Portugal was 57.4%.

¹ DREPA calculates the figures for *potentially* economically active population by considering the entire population between the age range of 15 and 64. Of the population in the appropriate range, people are considered *effectively* economically active if they are working or if they are looking for a job. Workers who are younger or older than this range are not included. Career military personnel are included.

Table 8.4
Unemployment, Azores Total, Year-end 1985

| Work Status | Total | Women | Men |
|-----------------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Econ. Active | 98,500 | 27,900 | 70,600 |
| Employed | 91,600 | 23,700 | 67,900 |
| Unemployed | 7,000 | 4,300 | 2,700 |
| Looking for first job | 3,600 | 2,300 | 1,300 |
| Looking for new job | 3,400 | 2,000 | 1,400 |
| Rate of Unemployment | 7.0% | 15.4% | 3.8% |

Source: SREA, 1985, *Inquérito ao Emprego*

Unemployment in the Azores is defined as those who are no longer working as well as those who are looking for a job for the first time. This last caveat doubles the unemployment rate for men, and almost doubles the rate for women (see Table 8.4). While far fewer women than men are economically active, the unemployment rate for women is over four times greater than that for men. The large amount of men and women searching for a new job despite the current laws that protect long-term workers from being fired reflects a number of factors. An employer must decide within the first six months to fire a particular employee, and many employers do fire their employees at that point if they are uncertain about him or her. Also, in the tertiary sector where a large portion of Azoreans are working, there is considerable horizontal movement between jobs. Young women, especially, who are working in restaurants and stores often become unsatisfied with the working environment created by older, male employers and they quit their jobs with the hope of finding another one. During the fifteen months of fieldwork, it became obvious that while new faces were appearing in the commercial establishments in Horta, many of the women who were

employed when we arrived had changed their jobs for one similar to it once or twice before we left.

Table 8.5
Percentage Employed by Profession and Sex: Azores, 1985

| Profession | | % Total Workers | % Profession |
|---|---------|-----------------|--------------|
| Total | F/M | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| | Females | | 25.9 |
| | Males | | 74.1 |
| Liberal and Natural Sciences | F/M | 4.1 | 100.0 |
| | Females | | 63.4 |
| | Males | | 36.6 |
| Directors and Senior Administrators | F/M | 0.8 | 100.0 |
| | Females | | 12.5 |
| | Males | | 87.5 |
| Administrators | F/M | 10.6 | 100.0 |
| | Females | | 41.5 |
| | Males | | 58.5 |
| Commercial Personnel | F/M | 7.6 | 100.0 |
| | Females | | 32.9 |
| | Males | | 67.1 |
| Domestic Labor, Security, and Personal Services | F/M | 12.7 | 100.0 |
| | Females | | 56.0 |
| | Males | | 44.0 |
| Agriculturalists and Agricultural Workers | F/M | 27.9 | 100.0 |
| | Females | | 3.6 |
| | Males | | 96.4 |
| Non-agricultural Producers | F/M | 34.2 | 100.0 |
| | Females | | 24.0 |
| | Males | | 76.0 |
| Unclassified Workers | F/M | 1.5 | 100.0 |
| | Females | | 0.00 |
| | Males | | 100.0 |
| Career Military | F/M | 0.6 | 100.0 |
| | Females | | 0.0 |
| | Males | | 0.6 |

Note: Females were in the senior administration position during the summer quarter, only.

Source: *Inquérito do Emprego*, SREA 1985

Lim (1983) maintains that whether women can expand beyond the typically dead end, low paid jobs that are associated with women's work depends on the rate of development of capitalist relations in all spheres of the economy. The Azores are an unusual situation because of the "artificial" prosperity created by the tremendous amount of economic inputs from the European Economic Community. The high prestige of the bureaucratic jobs and the advantages and side benefits such as advanced training, foreign language classes, and free travel throughout the archipelago that are provided even the lower level workers increase satisfaction on the job and make the low pay more tolerable. In addition, the wide range of family subsidies that are provided by the state ease the financial burden of the household (see Appendix I). The first women in the new post-revolutionary wave entering the work force, have entered in this relatively prestigious tertiary sector. Legal minimum wage for most jobs in the Azores is around 30,000 *escudos* per month, about \$200, although many people make closer to 25,000 *escudos* per month. Table 8.5 indicates the professions that women were concentrated in during 1985. In the tertiary sector, women constitute the greater percentage of education and health workers. Nurses and primary school teachers make about twice the minimum wage, and higher level teachers make three times the minimum. The typical low level, white collar jobs that young women are obtaining in commercial enterprises or government offices pay one to one and a half times the minimum wage. Higher level positions would pay more, but while women are well represented at among the lower level administrators, they are not commonly found in the director or senior administrator jobs. In the education field, typically dominated by women, there are some women in directorial positions. Men are also working as low-level government functionaries, and at this time their wages are comparable

to women's. Women are most exploited in the commercial sector where they work as store clerks, waitresses, hotel maids and other employees and grocery store cashiers. In these areas of employment, almost the entire staff will be young women working under the directorship of a male manager or owner, and relations are often tense.

People take wage jobs in the Azores for a number of reasons. With the modernization of Azorean life, cash is increasingly necessary for household utilities that were unavailable in the past: piped water and sewage, electricity, and private telephones. The store windows in the islands' cities are full of expensive, imported electric gadgets that make domestic labor easier or more fun: can openers, carving knives, microwave and toaster ovens, blenders and food processors. Most women dream of having a washing machine; some are thinking about an electric dryer. There are high-top sneakers, designer jeans and computers for the kids, mini-tractors and pick-up trucks for the husbands, Avon cosmetics, jewelry and kitchen items for the wives, and color televisions for the grandparents. With the continuation of agricultural subsistence production, cash income can be allocated to the purchase of these consumer items. The European Economic Community is counting on it. But wages in Portugal are among the lowest in the EEC, while prices are very high. One salary is insufficient to supply the household with the desired consumer goods, so more and more young women are planning to find jobs and continue working after marriage.

Another equally important factor in Azoreans' decisions to take a particular wage job is status and prestige. The repression and social stagnation of the dictatorship years is fresh in enough people's memories for social mobility to be a primary goal. Holding a white collar job, no matter how low it pays or what kind of repetitive work is required, is a means

toward increased social status. For example, I attended a typing class in the *Educação Permanente* program that is taught by Isabel, a young woman who is a return migrant from the United States and who has, since she was in tenth grade, held a day job as an accountant/secretary in a local business. The class was filled with teenagers who idolize Isabel, and hope that one day they will get a job just like hers. Isabel thinks that her job is boring and stressful, and realizes that her students have an idealized image of working in an office. Yet she is delaying marriage, and intends to continue working even if she does marry.

There are not enough of these jobs available for all the young women who plan on working outside their homes. Two teenage sisters who were in the typing class, neither of whom finished secondary school, were particularly hopeful about getting paid employment. To help their chances, they were also taking sewing classes at the *Educação Permanente*. Early one morning I saw the sisters in a city café. It is not common for rural teenagers to frequent cafés. These young women were drinking their morning coffee before going to their new jobs as domestic servants. They could find no other work, and wanted to get out of their houses and make some money. But they hope that something else will come up and that they do not have to clean other people's houses for long. These young women would not consider working in the fish factory located on the edge of Horta, but they would be interested in employment in an export processing factory should they come to the islands.¹

¹ I discuss the planned development of export processing factories in the Azorean Free Trade Zone in Chapter 9

National industries on Pico and Faial consist of milk factories and fish processors. These factories employ mostly women. In the fish factories women clean the fish and operate the machines. Men do the heavy lifting in the factory, and work on the boats. In one fish factory on the outskirts of Horta on Faial, women travel from all around the island to work there. All are from poor families, most of them are rural, but many do not engage in subsistence agriculture. Some women work at the factory with their daughters. Girls as young as 14 years old work in the factory, but the average age is about 40. Most of the women I spoke with claim that they do not like their work, but that there are no other work opportunities for them besides paid domestic labor, which many of them did before entering the factory. The advantage of the factory work is that the owner pays sick leave and workers' compensation, and makes monthly payments toward their retirement and old age pension. Conversely, although people who hire domestic servants are required to pay toward the pension, few do. The salary at the factory is the minimum 1,500 *escudos* (about \$10) per day--3000 to 3300 *escudos* per month--about what a domestic servant would make if she worked full time. Sick leave or workers' compensation amounts to 11,000 *escudos* per month for those who qualify. The factory workers pay 9000 *escudos* each month toward their pension. If they were 65 years old today, they would be able to draw between 20,000 and 25,000 *escudos* per month pension. This is an important consideration, for many of the women continue working in the factory with the future pension in mind. One 38 year old woman with the minimum level education told me: "I've been working here in the factory for 9 years. I never worked before this, and I never considered any other type of work. What else is there for me? I'll work here, I guess, until I die."

Work in the milk and fish factories of the islands does not carry the prestige that white collar work or men's skilled labor in the regional utilities does. I never met a young person who was not already working in the fish factory who would consider doing so. While many of the elderly women in Santarosa on Pico worked in the nearby fish factory on and off during their lives when they needed cash, none of their daughters or granddaughters are working there. On Faial, working in the fish factory is associated with those who are desperate and have no other recourse. The work is considered dirty and smelly, and those who work there are assigned low social status. This conforms to the islanders' ideas about fishing in general. Male fishermen and their households are also considered to be of lower status than agricultural peasants or wage workers in the urban areas.

The idea of working in a garment, electronics, or other nonfood processing factory does not carry the same negative connotation. This is because most Azoreans have relatives in the United States or Canada who have been working in these types of factories for years. Migration to North America and working in factories is associated with bettering one's life chances. It does not matter that migrants' jobs in the factories in the United States and Canada are considered low status, tedious and are relatively poorly paid. Azoreans do not see this aspect of their relatives' lives. The ideas that Azoreans have about factory work are reinforced through the remittances that migrants send back, the comfortable lifestyle that many migrants make for themselves in retirement in the Azores, and the fancy clothes and consumer items that migrants bring back to use on visits to the Azores. Many Azoreans who have heard of the planned future establishment of factories on the islands are impatiently awaiting their arrival. The factory work that they have been indirectly exposed to via their migrant relatives' experiences, is not

perceived to be in the same category as the factory work that is available on the islands right now. At this time, many Azoreans do not attach any sense of shame to the idea of working in nonfood processing factories. Follow-up research periodically during the coming years is necessary to examine if Azorean attitudes towards nonfood processing factory work changes, if this work becomes a reality for Azorean women in the Azorean context.

Conclusions

Prior to the social, political and economic reforms brought on by the 1974 revolution, rural Azorean households were typified by home production of agricultural produce, and to a limited extent other goods, for use and for exchange. When the first industry was established on Faial in 1845 to incorporate poor rural and urban women into paid labor, it was arranged in a form of "putting out" system that was in accord with the ideological notion of the woman in the house, and that did not greatly disrupt the prevailing household division of labor. The work in the production of lace and embroidery was done in the home, and women, both mothers and to a larger extent daughters, were able to intersperse this work with their daily reproductive tasks. This meant that a woman's day was lengthened considerably, and that she spent many evening hours doing the delicate work by the dim light of a lantern. The cross-cultural literature concerning women's home production of handmade lace and embroidery in past times through the present is consistent in its evaluation of the occupation as one where women are grossly underpaid and easily exploited by capitalist middlemen who take advantage of the producers who are desperate for a cash income no matter how meager. The location of the workplace in the domestic domain results in a categorization of the work as unimportant or

secondary to other work activities, particularly those engaged in by men, and serves to justify the low wages paid (Earnshaw 1985; Mies 1982). In the Azores, women were extremely poorly paid for their work in lace and embroidery. This is despite that many rural households would have been depending for a cash income primarily on the women's earnings because the market for male labor was declining during the century due to the agricultural blights that destroyed the islands' cash crops.

The "tradition," then, of handmade lace in the Azores which had been present primarily among the elite women was purposefully established among the peasants and urban poor classes in the early nineteenth century. Today, this tradition is in the process of dying out. Young, rural women perceive themselves to have more choices now than did the women of the last century, or even earlier in this century. Many attain one or more years of high school, and prolonged participation in this institution of the public sphere serves to set their sights on the prestigious jobs they see those older than them acquiring in the governmental and commercial sectors of the economy.

Azoreans have not been forced to sell their labor power because of a loss of control over their land. Rather, subsistence production and small scale cattle production for export frees the wage income to be allocated to consumer items since the wage is not generally needed for the basic expenditures of rent and food. In this way the orientation of wage work for the Azorean rural household has changed in recent years. In the past, temporary or sporadic paid work was performed by both men and women in order to maintain a subsistence level of reproduction and ownership of their house and their land. The private sphere of the household and the land was the focus of daily life. This orientation toward the domestic domain has changed since the

social, political and economic reforms brought on by the 1974 revolution and the more widescale incorporation of rural Azoreans into the labor force. A "culture of capitalism" (Harder 1989) has developed on the Azores Islands. The wage earned in the public sphere, and the commodities these earnings can purchase are for the younger generations beginning to take precedence over and are becoming more highly valued than the unpaid activities performed in the private sphere.

CHAPTER 9
PRIVATE LIFE AND PUBLIC INTEGRATION:
TRENDS IN THE FUTURE OF AZOREAN ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT, AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR WOMEN

Introduction: The Position of Women in Society

Women's roles in predominantly Catholic and overtly patriarchal countries such as Portugal have historically been confined to the private sphere of social interaction. While women from poor peasant and urban households have periodically participated in economic activity in the public sphere, this participation has come primarily in times of increased labor needs. In Portugal, as elsewhere, "Women's incorporation into production is largely determined by the fluctuating needs of the labour market and not seen as their inherent right" (Stolcke 1984b). To facilitate the periodic incorporation of women into paid labor, ideological messages that relegate women to a subordinate social position have historically been revised to allow women greater movement in society. These changes are usually aimed at the "liberalization" of those sectors of social life that concern the civil and family codes (Croll 1986; Molyneux 1984; 1985), but despite ideological changes that allow for women's expanded roles in the public sphere, they continue to be primarily identified by their reproductive role. Women have to a large extent functioned as a "reserve" labor force not only for capitalist enterprise, but also in the household when male participation in wage labor places

increased responsibilities for subsistence production on women (Mallon 1986).

As I outlined in Chapters 3 and 6, the social mediums that have served in the Azores as conduits for both the old and the new ideological orientations are religious and educational institutions. Although women have historically been excluded from most formal education and from participation in high level religious affairs, this exclusion is itself an indication of the subordinate status of women in the Azores. In most cases on the islands, ideological revisions motivated by political and economic factors have served on the societal level to bring women into the public labor market. However, the structural mechanisms that define women in relation to their reproductive role have remained substantially intact. Thus, when Azorean women are drawn into the public labor market, the tasks that they perform are to a large extent similar to, or extensions of, those that have traditionally identified them in the private sphere.

An on-going debate in the scholarly literature on the position of women in society concerns the question of the nature and roots of women's subordination. While some writers argue that a dominance hierarchy with women at the bottom is a universal phenomenon (Rosaldo and Lamphere 1974), others follow Engels' (1972) thesis that women's subordination arose with capitalism and colonialism (Bourque and Warren 1981; Leacock 1978, 1981; Nash 1978; Sacks 1974, 1976). These authors hold that in pre-class societies a division of labor by gender was a reflection of complementary functions rather than the subordination of women. For Leacock, women's status is determined largely by their role in production in terms of their access to resources and their control over their own labor and the products of their labor. Most scholars agree that women's status is strongly related to the

gender division of labor in society, but in class societies there are cross-cultural differences in the position of women with regard to the particular manifestation of the division of labor (Benería 1979; Mallon 1986; Moore 1988). Both Mallon (1986) and Bourque and Warren (1981) argue that it is essential to examine the pattern of specialization of tasks by gender in the society under study in order to identify the "key elements" that affect the position of women. Even where women participate at all levels of the economy, and where men's and women's activities appear to strongly overlap, identification of the exact junctures where the specialization takes place may reveal that these few areas serve as obstacles to women's independence, and thus reinforce their subordinate position. Stolcke (1984b:175) asserts that the primary issue in the debate about complementarity is "whether segregated roles fulfil complementary functions to the benefit of the collectivity or whether they are an instrument to perpetuate social inequality."

Where some scholars place their focus on production, another perspective emphasizes the primacy of the institutions of marriage and the family as mechanisms for the domination of women. To understand women's status in society, production must be analyzed in terms of its interrelation with reproduction. Expanding upon Engels' (1972) argument that private property and inheritance concerns led to the need for men to control women's sexuality and reproductive capabilities, these scholars attribute women's continuing subordination to their primary role in privatized reproductive labor (Barrett 1980; Benería 1979). In many respects, it is a matter of whether one sees women's roles in reproduction as determining their roles in production, or the other way around (see Sacks 1989). For a comprehensive analysis of women's position in society, the dialectical

relationship between women's public and private roles must be considered in historical context. Stolcke (1984b) sees marriage and the family as the conduits for the perpetuation of class relations and the means by which women's participation in production is restricted. Stolcke argues that it is not the division of labor itself that is oppressive, but the social uses of the division.

In class society . . . the sexual division of labour--women's domestication--is ultimately the product of man's control over women's reproductive capacity in the interests of perpetuating unequal access to the means of production. (Stolcke 1984b:163)

Many feminist scholars as well as marxist scholars agree with Engels' assertion that the elimination of women's subordination involves both their release from individualized domestic labor and their incorporation into the public sphere of social production. However, it is also widely recognized that there are limitations to a perspective that focuses the problem around production because it ignores relations within the domestic sphere where classes reproduce themselves "daily and over the generations" (Sacks 1989:536). Engels' and Lenin's stipulation for the socialization of domestic work has not been heeded even in socialist societies, so "working" women retain the double burden of domestic reproduction as well as public sphere social production. It is also important to note here that while a biologist notion of women's "natural" function in childcare and other reproductive labor is frequently insidiously employed to justify the exclusion of women from equal participation with men in all realms of public sphere activity, it is dangerous to unilaterally assume that all women would (or should) reject their motherhood role in favor of full-time participation in wage labor. Not only, as Elshtain (1982) has stated, does this do an injustice to the multitudes

of women who throughout history have played crucial social roles in the private sphere, the cross-cultural literature demonstrates that both "motherhood" and the rejection of motherhood are culture-bound concepts. A perspective that would do away completely with the role of motherhood in the interests of eliminating the subordination of women, has been shown to misrepresent not only the attitudes and desires of women in diverse regions of the world, but increasingly of women in North America as well.

A further critique of Engels is that while women's release from the home and participation in public labor may place them in a position of greater self and class consciousness, it is not sufficient for women to join the wage labor force in order to affect their freedom from subordination. The conditions under which women are incorporated into the labor force must be considered. Benería and Sen (1980), for example, writing about development in the Third World, contest the widespread allegations that women are left out of the development process. Rather, they argue, women are integrated into rural economic development "at the very bottom of an inherently hierarchical and contradictory process of capitalist accumulation" (Benería and Sen 1980:6). Thus, women's subordination must be examined with respect to gender relations, capital accumulation and class formation. Many scholars have documented the process of sex-typing of jobs that relegates women to the more menial, lower paid occupations. Women who engage in paid employment are vulnerable to domination on three separate, yet inter-related, levels--in the family, the workplace and the state. These three tiers must be examined both independently and for their interconnections (Safa 1989).

A dimension of the study of women's position that is often pushed aside in favor of economic concerns is the social construction of gender

concepts (Stolcke 1984b). How do women and men perceive their position vis a vis each other, and do these perceptions parallel or conflict with observable reality (Bourque and Warren 1981)? How are gender relations manifested at the level of the household and the community, and how is the broader ideology of the dominant institutions of the state and the Church translated on the local level of cultural interpretation? Entwistle's (1978) model developed to understand the inter-relationship between working class culture and the cultural mainstream can be used to conceptualize the relationship in question here between local culture and the dominant ideologies about women's position. Working class culture is depicted as engulfed within the larger domain of mainstream culture, but with permeable boundaries that allow for an exchange and borrowing between the two. In a similar sense, local interpretation is a negotiation between ideology and culture, and its specific manifestation with respect to the gender division of labor and women's domestic and public roles will differ in each society to reflect the particular social, political and economic circumstances. The issue, then, becomes not whether women in a particular class society are subordinated, but how this subordination is represented in daily life, and how the circumstances have changed historically.

In this sense we can talk about a marked difference in the conditions of existence for Azorean peasant women and women in partially proletarianized households. Whereas in peasant households during the Salazar years for the five decades preceding the current post-revolutionary period, men were the legal heads of the household, and as such had control over the administration of all family property and family members. Men also represented the household in the public sphere. Because of the legal basis for men's domination, women, under these circumstances, can be thought to

have experienced the effects of a strict hierarchical inequality in the household, and to have had no control over their own labor, or the products of their labor. This, as I have shown, was not the case in the Azores. Under the dictatorship the movement and activities of both men and women was severely circumscribed by political oppression and poverty. The efforts of men, women and children were oriented toward the domestic sphere as they worked together for the household's subsistence and survival. To judge women's position in society by their lack of participation in the public sphere is to misrepresent the situation. I do not deny that women in Azorean peasant households were and are subordinate to the adult men, but it is equally clear that women maintain a level of power and authority that is not present in households where men engage in wage labor. The question is not one of absolutes, but one of degree that takes into consideration the effects of changing cultural and economic relationships. A complementarity of function can exist only when each task is perceived by the actors as equal in value. While there is a structural subordination of women in Azorean peasant households, the daily experience of social relations reflects another dynamic. However, with the incorporation of household members into the public sphere of wage work, there is a distinct separation of productive and reproductive activity. Under these circumstances, paid and unpaid work become the focus of differential evaluation (Stolcke 1984a). While paid work is productive, unpaid household work becomes associated exclusively with reproductive functions. Unpaid labor, then, is subordinated in value to labor that earns a cash wage.

The question of whether women's lives improve once they, also, engage in wage labor is a complex one. As I discussed earlier, the conditions of women's incorporation into the labor force, and the relation of their

productive work to their roles in reproduction must be assessed. In the Azores as almost everywhere, the social construction of women's roles remains primarily as that of wives and mothers, even for those women who engage in wage labor. And in the workplace, patriarchal policies that are promulgated at the institutional levels of the state and the Church affect women directly. At the same time, women who earn a wage are more independent in that they have their own income, although in the Azores most women claim that they are working to help out their husbands. In many cases, however, these women do experience increased decision-making power in the household. Women's status as a result of their incorporation into wage labor is a contradictory one that involves the historical inter-relationship of cultural, ideological, and material factors. The issue cannot be reduced to simple cause and effect.

Women's Roles in Azorean Economic Development

In this study I have argued that historically in the Azores, shifts in ideological messages have coincided with changes in state economic strategies. In 1845 when the handmade lace and embroidery industry was first established on Faial, women were drawn into production at a time when the opportunities for men to earn a living were severely curtailed. Despite the importance at that time of women's earnings to both the Azorean economy and their households' survival, women's economic input was not recognized as significant, and they were poorly paid. In part, this lack of recognition and undervaluation of women's labor was related to the system of labor deployment. Production was done in the women's individual homes through a form of putting-out labor, a work arrangement that was compatible with women's "primary" responsibilities for housework and childcare. Thus,

even though women worked for a cash income, their identification remained within the domestic sphere of reproduction.

The post-1974 trend toward elevated participation of Azorean women in wage labor reflects a pattern that was set in the nineteenth century. During this recent phase of female labor incorporation, demographic variables have been an important factor in initiating policies for the recruitment of women. Economic analysts at the University of the Azores have projected that the rate of economically active men on the islands will remain constant through 1996 at about 92%. In contrast, it is estimated that the rate for women will increase from the 1981 figure of 20% to at least 35% by 1996 (Fortuna 1984). Women are being drawn into greater participation in the public sector by a variety of means including the changing social attitudes towards education for women and women's work; expanded needs for cash in everyday life, and increasing consumerism on the islands; the consequent growing necessity for women to contribute to the household budget; and women's own desire to expand their roles beyond those that have traditionally been prescribed for them. However, in the currently planned phase of Azorean economic development, women are again being recruited for low status, low paid work.

It is important to consider the long-term implications of this shift in labor patterns. The impending integration of the European Economic Community is proclaimed by the international media as the beginning of a new era in European history. The twelve members of the EEC will be drawn into a common market where labor, goods and monies are to flow freely across national boundaries. How will Azorean women fare in the coming decades?

Migration to Continental Europe

The destination of Azorean migrants has historically been the New World. Azorean migration, which has typically taken place in family units, was oriented first to Brazil and then to North America, but not to Europe. However, the impending creation of a common European labor market may disrupt this traditional migratory pattern and future Azorean migration may resemble the traditional pattern of northern Portugal. In northern Portugal there has been a history of single males migrating to work in other European countries such as France and Germany. Under such a system, women have been left at home to assume responsibility for all household and agricultural chores, and in some cases they have lost contact with their husbands. Because of the resulting demographic skew, some women never had the opportunity for marriage and motherhood, and still others have had "illegitimate" children (Brettell 1986; O'Neill 1987). If Azorean migrants are diverted to Europe, a similar pattern may emerge in the Azores that has characterized northern Portugal where women wait at home becoming work widows and spinsters as the men labor abroad.

Should Azoreans participate in a migration to European countries, it seems unlikely that Azorean families would be able to remain intact in the way that they have when the destination was the United States and Canada. Although Portuguese legislation cites men's responsibilities toward childrearing as equal to women's, it is women's continued association and identification with this function that would probably result, at least initially, in males migrating alone. There is no precedent for young, single women migrating without their parents to the United States (Andrade 1967; Lamphere 1987). Unless social attitudes are further modified, it would be unusual for a family to approve of a daughter migrating by herself so far from

the moral protection of her family and her home. Since this was the case for North America where most Azoreans have a network of relatives already resident in the migration destinations, it seems highly likely that there would be even more aversion to a daughter's lone migration to a European country where the family has no base of relatives.

Another important point of consideration is whether many Azoreans, males or females, would be in a position to take advantage of the free borders at all. Migration under any circumstances requires an initial fund of money. But migration to the EEC countries of northern Europe which have considerably higher costs of living than the Azores, and where few migrants have an intact welcoming community base, would require much larger initial expenditures. Thus, freedom of movement guaranteed by law does not translate into equal access and benefits for all citizens of all member nations. Despite rhetoric about a unified European community, structural inequalities that currently exist between the individual countries will likely persist after 1992.

Economic Development and Women's Wage Labor in the Azores

On the Azores Islands themselves, assuming no immediate large-scale outmigration in search of work, and if women's economic participation remains constant at the 1981 level, then 14,927 new jobs would have to be created between 1981 and 1996 for full employment to occur in 1996. However, women's participation is expected to increase 15% by 1996. Creation of the necessary 26,508 new jobs will require continued economic expansion (Fortuna 1984). In recent years it has been the tertiary sector that has provided considerable employment for women. While there is currently little room for continued expansion in the areas in this sector that have

grown most rapidly over the last decade--public administration, banking, securities, transportation and communication--further expansion is expected to occur in commerce, hotels and tourism.

The impact of tourism

Unlike the Madeiras, the Azores have not yet become a major magnet for tourism. The Azores Islands are physically beautiful, with rolling hills of pastureland, volcanic craters and black sand beaches. However, the weather is not conducive to tourism during the winter months, and sufficient infrastructure for tourist facilities is lacking. The European Economic Community has already begun investing in tourism development on the islands, and the planned development is likely to permanently alter the quiet, rather isolated character of life now found in most Azorean villages. In contrast to past development, future plans to expand tourism are not aimed at the principal population centers; development is oriented toward drawing the rural villages and villagers into the network of tourism destinations, and thus, tourism occupations. The development of facilities to accommodate and entertain tourists in the rural areas will affect all villagers, but the changes may be felt most acutely by women because they make up the majority of the people who are at home in the village during the day.

The example of Faial is illustrative of the types of development slated to occur on the islands with the aid of an investment branch of the EEC. Following an historical pattern, Faial is being developed at a faster pace than are its neighboring islands, and thus is currently more affected. However, the changes on Faial may be indicative of the direction of future development on the other islands. In the study community on Faial, work has already begun on the construction of a golf course on the higher land. At the beach front,

improvements such as sea walls and walks, and an asphalt parking lot are nearing completion. All construction has taken place on former agricultural lands. Other villages are being considered as sites for the construction of tennis courts. New hotels and restaurants are being planned throughout the island, and this is possibly the most intrusive part of the development project in regard to the social impact of tourism. "Lodging nuclei" will be established in various villages for the expressed purpose of extending tourism throughout the rural areas. Currently, on Faial, all lodging is located in the city of Horta. The two full-service hotels and several small *pensões* are underutilized in the winter and overbooked in the summer. Spreading lodging throughout the island and creating small, possibly family run, facilities would create a reserve supply of tourist beds and tourism workers during the summer months. The logic likely incorporates the notion that rural women, who would otherwise be home "just doing housework," could be mobilized to serve tourists during the busy seasons.

Land prices, especially for lots along the perimeter of the islands or on hilltops with clear views of the sea, have been rising in recent years. This inflation is due to the area's potential for tourism development, as well as recent interest on the part of foreign families in purchasing Azorean houses and land for vacation or permanent residence. Yet in many other ways villagers have remained fairly insulated from the impacts of tourism thus far. On Faial, over 600 yachts dock in the marina at the city of Horta during the season, but Azorean villagers and even most city dwellers have little contact with the boaters. Locals are not permitted to enter the marina, and the majority of the yachters restrict their movement to the area of the marina and the main street. Other tourists typically stay in a city hotel and visit the rural areas by means of a three-hour island taxi tour which stops only at designated

scenic overlooks and natural attractions. They do not stop in the villages. Thus, villagers who do not often leave the rural areas rarely even see foreigners. However, plans to make foreign tourism an integral part of village life are coming closer to fruition. During the fieldwork period, golf course construction in the village of about 600 residents was only a rumor and people at that time found the idea absurd. They had no voice in the decision, and now the course is nearly ready for use. With completion of these planned development projects, the entire nature of village life is likely to change. While there may be increased prosperity, there will also be accompanying human costs.

The women, children and elderly who spend the most time in the village will be most affected by increasing traffic and commotion in their communities. Azoreans, as I have shown, conduct themselves in a reserved manner fitting of their self-description of *fechado*. They will have to adjust to the transformation of their village from a relatively private space to a public one. As I outlined in Chapter 5, although modern appliances are changing the traditional rhythm of women's domestic work, in many households on Faial--and in most households on Pico--much of women's domestic work takes place out of doors in front of their kitchens. The low rock walls that separate the private, domestic domain from the public road effectively function as barriers only between those who are familiar with and respectful of local social patterns of discretion and privacy. With expanding tourism the villagers will have to insulate themselves not only from newly intruding visitors, but from new dangers as well. In the past, villagers rarely locked their doors, but today most villagers are beginning to realize that locks are a good precaution, even if not absolutely necessary in all areas. On Faial, Pico and the other lesser developed islands, vandalism, burglary, rape and violent

assault are still uncommon. Woman can walk at night without fear through the unlit village streets on Pico and Faial. During the day, children are sent with messages and errands to relatives' houses, and adults assume that they will not often come upon strangers. Children from the fifth grade on take the island bus system to and from the schools which are located only in the cities or major towns on the islands. Currently, the city of Horta on Faial, and Madalena on Pico are considered safe. Even misplaced personal items are not likely to be stolen. In contrast, crime is rife near the American and Portuguese military bases on Terceira, where there is a large foreign and continental Portuguese presence. Villagers on Pico and Faial frequently spoke about the need to take special care with their belongings when they travel to either Terceira or São Miguel for medical treatment. Thus, with more unknown people moving through and eventually even staying in the villages, the relative security that villagers still take for granted may dissipate.

Another problem relates to the island's roads. The roads are narrow, curved and hilly, and are not adequate for the accommodation of increased high-speed motor traffic. Villagers, often elderly men but increasingly also women and children, walk their cows from pasture to pasture along the roads, and they cannot easily get out of the way of oncoming cars. On some of the islands slow moving donkey carts are still in common use. There are no sidewalks, and children fill the roads walking to and from the village primary schools. Recently the residents of the study village on Faial received a tragic shock when a small boy was hit by a car and killed not far from his house as he was walking home from school.

Development in the Azores as elsewhere is a multifaceted phenomenon that brings with it high costs and selective benefits for the villagers. Expansion in the service areas of the tertiary sector, particularly

related to tourism, will provide considerable additional employment opportunities for women both in the urban areas and in the rural villages. However, will this type of employment elevate women's status?.

The tertiary sector

The service oriented jobs of the tertiary sector traditionally hire predominantly female labor because the work involved in serving, feeding, cleaning, laundering and otherwise tending to daily human needs is seen as an extension of women's household domestic work. The corollary to this assumption is that the work women are hired to do is often low paid and menial. The more prestigious and better paid upper level and managerial positions--such as in the governmental bureaucracy, and in commerce and tourism--are typically reserved for men (Benería and Roldán 1987; Bettio 1988). Thus, while rural tourism development in the Azores would enable many women to earn an income without having to travel to the urban areas, the very fabric of life as they experience it in their villages now would be altered. Women would be called upon to function as maids, cooks, and other types of servants in their own communities and possibly in their own homes. If employed in this sector, women will continue to be identified with domestic, reproductive work, but in an expanded array of situations. They will be responsible, as in the past, for unpaid domestic labor in the private sphere of their households. Women may also be required to perform a form of paid, public sphere domestic labor if their households are turned into inns and their families take in lodgers or serve meals to outsiders. There will also be a heightened need for women's work in hotels and restaurants located in the rural areas. With tourism expansion, the traditional identification of women with domestic work, increasingly extended to the public sphere,

seems likely to reinforce the prevailing specialization of tasks that relegates women to full responsibility for household domestic work. It seems improbable that women's incorporation into the service sector of the wage labor force would aid in breaking down the unequal division of labor in the household, nor would it seem to improve women's status in the household and in society.

Secondary sector development: MNC investment

While in the last decade there has been a rapid expansion of the tertiary sector in the Azores, and some areas of this sector will continue to grow, the trend for the future lies in the growth and development of the secondary sector (Fortuna 1984). This change follows a pattern for emphasized European economic integration in 1992: underdeveloped nation-states are a plentiful source of cheap labor, and they will be required to expand the secondary sector to accommodate structural changes in the European Community. The manufacturing industries that are currently located on the Azores Islands--primarily fish packing, milk processing, and a small number of non-food processing factories--are not likely to expand to absorb additional labor. Therefore, for the secondary sector to become a significant force in future economic development and labor absorption, the Azores must interest foreign investors and develop entirely new industries. The Autonomous Regional Government of the Azores plans to attract labor intensive industries that utilize unskilled or semi-skilled, primarily female labor. The incentives that a multinational corporation would have to invest in the Azores would be access to the vast European market and a supply of low cost labor. Thus, the economic orientation of Azorean development--in the

secondary sector as well as the tertiary--depends to a large extent on the utilization of women's labor.

With the creation in February 1982 of a Free Trade Zone (*Zona Franca*) on the easternmost island of Santa Maria, the structure has been established to allow foreign investment on the islands and the attraction of multinational corporations. Special legislation for Free Trade Zones will apply to exempt the new industries from the normal Portuguese and EEC tax and tariff regulations. In addition, the regional government will provide the investors with a package of financial incentives including the government's assumption of: 100% of the cost for training local workers; up to 50% of the cost of rent for the first 5 years; up to 50% of the cost of construction of industrial facilities; and up to 50% of the cost of equipment (Açores 1988). Azorean economists are using as a development model the experiences of other countries that have developed export processing economies such as Taiwan and Mexico. With Portugal's entry into the European Economic Community, and with forthcoming total European economic integration in 1992, the time is now auspicious for foreign investment on the Azores Islands. For example, a multinational firm that puts the finishing touches on a product in a factory located in the Azores would have access to the extensive and lucrative EEC marketplace. The island of Santa Maria is intended as a pilot project, and once it proves viable, the factory system will expand throughout the archipelago (Fortuna 1984). The Azorean government wants economic development, and the islands need a form of development that will absorb the increasing number of women looking to enter the wage labor force. Foreign investment in export processing will facilitate the recognition of both of these ends since this type of industry typically employs women (Fernández-Kelly 1982, 1983a, 1983b; Safa 1986b).

However, what kind of model does the export processing industry present for the Azores, and what will its development mean for women's social and economic position in their families and in society? While this type of industrial development would employ a large number of women, it has been shown for other export processing regions such as Mexico and Puerto Rico that the industries require workers who will accept low pay and unstable working conditions (Fernández-Kelly 1983a; Safa 1986b). This fact has not gone unnoticed by Azorean economists. They maintain that since Azorean women are not experienced in factory work and do not have the skills for advanced work, they have no choice but to accept this low status employment. Women are widely considered to be passive and malleable workers, and the availability of this type of labor force in the Azores is an inducement that will help attract foreign investors. An Azorean economic policy paper thus notes that export processing factories

are very mobile, and bring with them certain risks, but the challenge of development consists in confronting and minimizing these risks, and continually preparing alternatives for those units that are closing. The industrialization process must begin with these less specialized industries. Labor has to become habituated to the industrial environment, one step at a time, acquiring the necessary specialization in order to advance to more exacting industries, where the jobs are better remunerated and more secure. (Fortuna 1984:19)

Export processing factories that are run by multinational corporations are sometimes called "footloose" industries or "runaway shops" to reflect their lack of commitment to a particular location. If labor gets too expensive, benefit demands get too high, or tax holidays dissolve, the industry can easily move to a different country where the comparative costs are more favorable (Lim 1983; Safa 1986b). Currently in Portugal wages are among the lowest in

Europe. One factor in the workers' favor is national labor legislation that was instituted after the revolution following the socialist ideals of worker protection. Among these laws are guarantees for a minimum daily wage (although small employers do not always comply), an extensive holiday schedule, paid maternity leave, leave to care for sick relatives, a safe and healthy working environment, and most important, protection against being laid off or fired after working for a single employer for more than six months. While export processing factories commonly lay off workers at regular intervals in order to avoid the benefits written into existing labor legislation, they also want the freedom to fire long-term workers who cannot meet production quotas or who are deemed undesirable for whatever reason (Fernández-Kelly 1983a; Safa 1986b). Therefore, labor legislation that favors worker's rights discourages foreign investors. The current Portuguese national government recognizes the conflicting affect of the legislation as it stands, and it is already considering rescinding the workers' tenure protection. Although public dissemination of information about the proposed changes in labor legislation is minimal and has not yet promoted any public outcry in the Azores, on the continent in April 1988 there was a one-day general labor strike.

Azorean economists hope that in time the first phase of labor intensive runaway shops will be replaced by a second phase of more stable, capital intensive industries that use skilled labor. Lim (1983) maintains that some of the countries that have been involved in export processing the longest, like Taiwan and Singapore, have evolved in this way. "Wages rise, working conditions improve, more skills are imparted, more local linkages generated, more taxes paid, and more profits reinvested locally" (Lim 1983: 75). But these countries are in the small minority, and they differ from the Azorean

situation in that these Asian export processing regions incorporate more local capital. The second phase would likely alter, once again, the conditions of women's incorporation into the labor force. It has been observed in diverse industrial regions that once capital intensive industry replaces the former labor intensive industry, the demand for female labor decreases. This is because industries that utilize advanced technology typically employ men rather than women (Safa 1986b; Saffioti 1986).

Development economists point out that multinational corporations frequently provide jobs for women where there formerly were none, and that MNCs sometimes pay higher wages than national firms. However, in patriarchal societies where women are seen to provide only a secondary, supplemental income to their households, the low wage that most export processing factories pay is considered justified. The rationale holds that even though the wages that many Third World women earn in the factories constitute the primary source of income for their households, women's contributions are still considered less important than men's. For these reasons, Lim (1983) and Safa (1986b) argue that Third World women workers in multinational corporations (since most MNCs are currently located in Third World countries) are the most exploited of any other worker group: they are subject to both capitalist exploitation and patriarchal subordination. Safa (1986b:70) maintains that

the low wages, poor working conditions, instability, and limited job mobility offered by this new industrial employment, [are] factors which could, if not carefully controlled, simply turn these industries into a new form of exploitation and subordination for Third World women.

This cautionary note on development applies to future female Azorean factory workers because the Azores Islands, while not located in the Third World, constitute an underdeveloped region of one of the least developed countries in Europe. Thus, foreign investment is likely to impact on Azorean society in a similar manner to how it has in other underdeveloped regions.

Education and employment

Export processing factories typically employ young, unmarried daughters rather than wives and mothers (Safa 1986a; 1986b), and it is anticipated that the factories that will be established on the Azores will do the same. This would in some ways replicate the early stages of industrialization in Europe and the northeastern United States. At that time, daughters left their predominantly rural homes to work in factories in the city. In recent years, however, daughters are staying in school longer and opting for higher prestige, non-factory employment when they graduate. Older, married women in these same regions, then, are now making up a majority of the factory labor force (Kessler-Harris 1982; Lamphere 1987; Tilly and Scott 1978). Currently in the Azores it is the younger generation of women who are seeking employment on a large scale and who would in any case be the preferred employees in export processing factories. However, in contrast to nineteenth century Europe and the United States, Azorean women are being encouraged to stay in school through their teenage years. Young women who are undergoing prolonged schooling do not aspire to a life of factory work. Consequently, will these women be satisfied with factory work if it is the only type of employment available?

Currently on the islands, factory work is not a major source of employment. The jobs in the fish and milk factories are considered of very

low status, and most of the women who take those jobs have little or no education. Azoreans associate the non-food processing factory work that their migrant relatives do as a good means to make a living and accumulate savings in North America, but on the islands factory work is associated with those who have no alternatives. Just like the children of migrants are beginning to get high school educations in order to obtain higher prestige jobs than their parents have (Ribeiro 1981), young Azoreans have their aspirations set on the acquisition of the relatively prestigious, "clean" white collar positions in the government and commercial offices. After the revolution when the island governmental bureaucracy began to expand, young people who had a secondary school education were in high demand due to their scarcity. Now, completion of two or more high school grades is becoming commonplace among both males and females, and there are far more applicants than there are jobs.

The Azorean government anticipates that the white collar categories of the tertiary sector will absorb much less labor in the near future than the secondary sector will. At the same time, the educational requirements for many jobs are increasing. With economic development a kind of "education inflation" takes place where employers hire the most educated people available. Job credentials rise even if the particular job does not warrant it. Thus, in other regions of the world a high school education is commonly required for industrial employment as well as for tertiary sector jobs (Rothstein 1986), and this is likely to become the case in the Azores as well. Young Azorean women who stay in high school hoping to work in a government office may find that the dwindling job opportunities for that kind of work leaves them with no choice but to take jobs in export processing factories which "hire only young women and offer only the least skilled and

lowest-paying job possibilities" (Rothstein 1986:45). Thus, the situation for women who already work in many aspects of the tertiary sector, and for their migrant relatives who return to the Azores after working in factories in North America, involves some degree of social and economic upward mobility. In contrast, the form of employment that the regional government has planned in the secondary sector for large numbers of Azorean women is not likely to raise their status in the same way that white collar work has for some women, or even in the same way that factory work has for migrants who return to the islands.

Another problem with the planned pattern of development is that most unmarried women who are beginning to work now intend to continue working when (or if) they marry. It is common for women thirty years and older to have working husbands who do not want their wives to hold public sector jobs. However, most younger men are forced to take a more pragmatic view. In these days of both increasing prices and increasing expectations for level of living, young people are aware that the wife's wage is essential to the type of lifestyle they want to lead, and particularly, for the acquisition of the modern commodities they want to own. And young women are not content to confine their role to a decreasingly valued domestic one that is comprised, more and more, of transformation and reproduction, and less of productive activities. Young Azorean women want to engage in formally recognized, public sector paid employment. Yet, export processing factories are not geared to the provision of long-term or career employment for women, and it has been found in some regions that women are routinely fired if they marry (Fernández-Kelly 1982). In time, unfulfilled aspirations may lead to disillusionment with the results of development.

Conclusion

In this dissertation I have examined women's roles in the private sphere and in the public sphere, and I have traced the movement of women's economic participation between the two spheres. In much of the literature regarding women's position or status in society, it is assumed that only through increased incorporation into the public sphere of interaction can women garner prestige and satisfaction from their activities, and become liberated from subordination. This perspective is commonly maintained regarding all aspects of women's social, religious and economic lives. In contrast, I have attempted to demonstrate the limitations of this position. Under most circumstances, women's roles do not directly reflect the prevailing ideological construction of gender roles. While Azorean women are part of an historically patriarchal society, and the institutions of the state and the Catholic Church have contributed to their subordination, women's lives have involved a complex negotiation between the ideological and cultural forces that have defined their existence. Women have historically been, and remain today, in a subordinated position in the Azorean household and broader society. But the exact nature and degree of subordination and their societal status has been a changing dynamic reflecting their class relations, and the social, economic and political conditions of the moment.

With incorporation of household members into the public sphere of paid production, gender relations within the household and in society begin to change. When Azoreans engage in paid production as a means to maintain the peasant existence, the orientation of husbands and wives remains in the private sphere and unpaid household labor retains its high value. However, as society becomes increasingly oriented toward consumer needs, the orientation of the household moves toward the public sphere of

income generation. The power of the wage for exchange becomes more significant than the former importance of human sharing and reciprocal relations. Unpaid labor and homemade products lose value in the face of wage labor and purchased goods. Through this transformation, even when women engage in paid employment, they continue to be responsible for the majority of the unpaid household work involved in the perpetuation of their family line, and the reproduction of the labor force. Women's identification within the domestic domain reinforces their subordinated position and creates conditions for their incorporation into the public sphere from a disadvantageous standpoint.

In the Azores today, women's incorporation into wage labor is synonymous with their increasing submission to a "culture of capitalism" (Harder 1989). Elevated consumerism and the proletarianization of much of Azorean society has altered household relations such that women are increasingly expected to engage in paid labor and contribute to household maintenance with a wage income. However, the future development plans of the Azorean regional government are based on the availability of women to comprise a cheap labor source for the secondary sector, and to be willing participants in the service occupations of the tertiary sector. Wage work under the conditions presented to most Azorean women does not afford them a significant measure of freedom, autonomy or satisfaction.

At the same time as women are increasingly called upon to add low status, low paid, public sphere activity to their domestic responsibilities, they are losing control of formerly positive elements of the domestic sphere. As Verena Stolcke (1984b:175) has so aptly stated:

If women's subordination is attributed to women's exclusion from production, then equality between men

and women will depend on women's incorporation into production. But this reasoning is based on the idea that only by making accessible to women the defining attributes of men within class society, . . . only by converting women into men, will equality be achieved. . . . The subordination of women is not resolved by depriving women of their procreative capacity or by converting women into workers.

At present Azorean society is undergoing an important transition. Young women have more choices and more freedoms than Azorean women have ever had before. At the same time, much of what made their mothers and grandmothers strong and confident members of Azorean society is rapidly losing importance in the face of modern cultural transformations. It is thus far unclear what direction young women will take with their lives in the long run--in terms of marriage, motherhood and work. Thus, I argue that for an evaluation of women's position in society, it is insufficient to limit the analysis to women's current incorporation into public activity. Rather, one must examine how women have arrived at their present position historically, and take into consideration what they have forfeited in the process, as well as what they have gained.

APPENDIX A POPULATION

Population by Age Group and Sex, Pico

| Age Group/ Sex | 1950 | 1960 | 1970 | 1981 |
|-------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| <u>0/14</u> | | | | |
| M/F | 6,030 | 5,654 | 4,335 | 3,318 |
| Male | 3,064 | 2,889 | 2,105 | 1,696 |
| Female | 2,966 | 2,765 | 2,230 | 1,622 |
| <u>15/64</u> | | | | |
| M/F | 13,971 | 13,975 | 11,225 | 9,360 |
| Male | 6,978 | 7,038 | 5,820 | 4,737 |
| Female | 6,993 | 6,937 | 5,405 | 4,623 |
| <u>65+</u> | | | | |
| M/F | 2,335 | 2,208 | 2,565 | 2,805 |
| Male | 1,004 | 958 | 1,150 | 1,336 |
| Female | 1,331 | 1,250 | 1,415 | 1,469 |
| <u>Total</u> | | | | |
| M/F | 22,336 | 21,837 | 18,125 | 15,483 |
| Male | 11,046 | 10,885 | 9,075 | 7,769 |
| Female | 11,290 | 10,952 | 9,050 | 7,714 |

Source: *Demografia, Emprego, e Desemprego nos Açores, 1950-1981, DREPA 1987*

Population by Age Group and Sex, Faial

| Age Group/ Sex | 1950 | 1960 | 1970 | 1981 |
|-------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| 0/14 | | | | |
| M/F | 6,533 | 5,340 | 4,115 | 3,895 |
| Male | 3,286 | 2,608 | 2,010 | 1,996 |
| Female | 3,247 | 2,732 | 2,105 | 1,899 |
| 15/64 | | | | |
| M/F | 15,408 | 12,933 | 10,030 | 9,146 |
| Male | 7,473 | 6,062 | 4,870 | 4,497 |
| Female | 7,935 | 6,871 | 5,160 | 4,649 |
| 65+ | | | | |
| M/F | 2,003 | 2,088 | 2,230 | 2,448 |
| Male | 752 | 747 | 890 | 1,047 |
| Female | 1,251 | 1,341 | 1,340 | 1,401 |
| Total | | | | |
| M/F | 23,944 | 20,281 | 16,375 | 15,489 |
| Male | 11,511 | 9,417 | 7,770 | 7,540 |
| Female | 12,433 | 10,864 | 8,605 | 7,949 |

Source: *Demografia, Emprego, e Desemprego nos Açores, 1950-1981*, DREPA 1987

APPENDIX B
POPULATION BY AGE GROUPS

Population by Age Group, Sex and Island, 1981

| <u>Age Group</u> | <u>Pico</u> | | <u>Faial</u> | |
|------------------|-------------|--------|--------------|--------|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| 15-19 | 681 | 605 | 640 | 632 |
| 20-24 | 526 | 476 | 525 | 520 |
| 25-29 | 473 | 417 | 521 | 446 |
| 30-34 | 405 | 397 | 453 | 495 |
| 35-39 | 342 | 413 | 421 | 422 |
| 40-44 | 411 | 388 | 384 | 364 |
| 45-49 | 464 | 496 | 368 | 392 |
| 50-54 | 493 | 490 | 353 | 482 |
| 55-59 | 463 | 506 | 408 | 439 |
| 60-64 | 479 | 435 | 424 | 457 |
| 65-69 | 521 | 473 | 393 | 460 |
| 70-74 | 420 | 442 | 330 | 381 |
| 75 + | 395 | 554 | 324 | 560 |

Source: *Anuário Estatístico 1980-81, SREA*

APPENDIX C BRITISH TRAVEL OBSERVATIONS

Nineteenth century British travelers have left rich descriptions of their impressions of the Azores Islands.¹ Some of the accounts offer useful information about the islands during the writers' period of travel, but it must be kept in mind that these writers made little attempt at objectivity. Their biases, particularly against people of the Catholic religion, are clear. The Bullars, two English brothers who visited the Azores for their health in the winter of 1838/1839 were among the more honest observers. They were living on São Miguel during the time when basic, primary school education was being made minimally available in the Azores as part of a national policy of public education as conceived by the Portuguese King, Dom Pedro. The Bullars wrote that "By this scheme, all the poor of the island may, if they please, be taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, free of cost" (Bullar and Bullar 1841:92). However, in reality, schooling was still a privilege of the wealthy, as the Bullars did not observe any of the poorer people in school on the island. Captain Boyd, a visitor to the Azores in 1834, also concerned himself with matters of education, and concluded that Azoreans were "in every class so deeply ignorant, and in such a state of mental debasement that

¹ See the volume by Mary Vermette (1984) for extensive citations from, and discussion of, nineteenth century writings on the Azores.

their existence is not many degrees elevated above that of unreasonable animals" (Boyd, cited in Taft 1923:83). This insidious, ethnocentric evaluation exemplifies the attitude of the majority of nineteenth century visitors to the island region. These observers were extremely prolific, and their accounts and memoirs have survived in published form and in archives and have been reproduced indiscriminately to describe the "Portuguese character". No attempt was made to understand the social conditions that prevailed at the time. What was a motivation of the Portuguese economic and political elite to keep the masses isolated and uninformed, and was manifested in a lack of educational infrastructure despite a state policy to the contrary, was instead interpreted by these foreign elites as flawed personality traits of an entire nation of people. These character judgements became particularly harmful when they accompanied Azorean migrants to their new homes in North America, and impeded their integration and mobility in American society.

APPENDIX D

SALAZAR: THE CREATION OF A DICTATOR

In order to fully understand António Oliveira Salazar's position on the role of state, educational and religious institutions, particularly with regard to women, it is necessary to understand something of his upbringing. Ironically, Salazar grew up in a poor, rural home in northern Portugal. But at an early age he was fortunate to have been taken under the tutelage of the local priest, and admitted to the seminary. There he excelled in his studies, and was subsequently given the opportunity to continue on to higher education. In October of 1910, the same month as the revolution that finally toppled Portugal's monarchy, he was admitted to the elitist and virtually all-male University of Coimbra. The year that Salazar entered the university was a pivotal year for Portugal's higher education system because Coimbra became, for the first time, a lay institution of higher education rather than the essentially ecclesiastic institution it had been under the monarchy. And, equally as significant, two other universities were created, one in Lisbon and one in Porto. Salazar approved neither of the secularization of Coimbra, nor the dilution of Coimbra's academic monopoly by the creation of two competing universities (Gomes 1987). Salazar received his degree from the illustrious Coimbra Faculty of Law five years later, but he maintained the deep interest that he had developed earlier in problems of education and

pedagogy. He still embraced Catholicism as strongly as he had when he was growing up, and he viewed issues of education predominantly from a moral and religious perspective. He was a major contributor to the newsletter published by the Centro Académico de Democracia Crista, and became a leader in the Catholic university student movement. Both of these activities were in direct defiance of the republican era's anti-clerical stance. In 1919, he was suspended from his post on the teaching staff of the Coimbra Faculty of Law due to allegations concerning his anti-republican views. While under suspension he explained the development of and justifications for his ideological viewpoints in a document entitled "A Minha Resposta" ("My Response"). Salazar considered that one of the greatest national problems was education.

It would perhaps be possible to implant the requisite good habits of thought and to create the right atmosphere, so that at least something of our educational effort might take root. Then, the little men we were training for life would themselves become, later on, educators of new generations. . . . It was, therefore, of small value to change governments and regimes, if you didn't first of all attempt to change men themselves. What was needed was 'men', and they had to be created by means of education. So I then began to study pedagogy. I read a number of books on education. . . . And out of all this I gained at least one solid conviction: that, officially, in our country, 'education' in the sense of an integral and harmonious development of all the individual faculties did not exist. The State undertook almost exclusively intellectual education. (cited in Teixeira 1938:16-17)

APPENDIX E

CASE STUDY: HOUSEHOLD ECONOMIC STRATEGIES

The following life history, excerpted from my fieldnotes of spring 1988, illustrates the diverse economic strategies employed by the households of two Picoense sisters, and the diminishing importance through the twentieth century of craft production as a means of earning a cash income. While the experiences and travels of Maria F. and Rosa F. were by no means common among women of the time, their story nevertheless gives some indication of how the dominant ideology of the Salazar regime conflicted with the economic necessities of rural households in the family economy. Official state and Church doctrine discouraged women from engaging in commerce, and legislation restricted women's economic activities and movements. But Maria and Rosa were encouraged by their husbands in their production and distribution of straw hats, and the sisters were able to travel to get better prices and increased sales for their products by activating their network of affinal kin on another island.

Maria F., a 58 year old resident of Pico, learned to make straw hats as a child. After she was married, she earned a decent cash income from the production and sale of hats. Maria and her husband, Joaquim, collected the straw, and with the occasional help of Joaquim she made the *tranças* (plaited strips) and sewed them into wide-brimmed hats, each decorated with a colorful ribbon band. She did this work in addition to a full day's domestic chores.

Since home production of straw hats was commonplace on Pico until recently, Maria would have been at the mercy of an intermediary to sell her products off the island had she not had fortunate connections on the nearby island of São Jorge. Maria's younger sister Rosa F. had married Mario, a man from São Jorge who she met when he came to Pico for a song competition. The couple settled on Pico in the house where Maria and Rosa were born. Rosa also made hats, and the two sisters made sales trips to São Jorge by boat when their inventory accumulated, two to three times a year. They traveled around the island by bus, selling to and utilizing the introductions and hospitality of Mario's relatives. These trips stopped when Rosa migrated with her husband and children to France. France was an unusual destination for Azoreans, but many members of Mario's family were already there. It was strange enough that Maria and Rosa traveled together to market their goods, but it would have been impossible for Maria to do it alone, and besides, the family connections were really those of her sister.

After Maria stopped traveling to sell straw hats, she took a job with the fish factory that is located on the same side of the island as her village. Her husband, Joaquim, worked at that time at the whale factory, further down the road. Joaquim's shift was irregular, as labor demands of the factory depended on the whale catch, and a factory truck frequently came to collect him when he was needed. Maria's shift was regular, and she had to leave the house around six in the morning to make the hour-long walk that brought her to the factory on time. She made 25 *escudos* a day. At the end of her shift she walked back home and resumed the domestic chores that she had not finished in the morning. To make additional money they raised pigs for sale. Maria also made lace which she sold to a woman who exported it.

After about five years of working in the fish factory Maria quit because the strain of the day and the long walk were too much for her. Joaquim injured his back in the whale factory, and he had to quit his job. Maria and Joaquim had been renting a house in the village Maria was born in, and about ten years ago they bought a house on the main road. They have several pieces of land scattered around the village that Maria inherited, and they grow all their

vegetables and raise a pig, a family of goats, two turkeys, some chickens, and two milk cows. Joaquim takes care of the cows and feeds the pig, Maria cares for the poultry, and the goats pretty much take care of themselves. Joaquim is the principal agricultural worker, and Maria participates in times of heavy labor demand, such as planting and harvesting. Firewood for Maria's bread oven must be collected on their wooded lands, the *mato*. Both Maria and Joaquim make periodic trips up the hill together, each bringing back a bundle of wood on their backs. Maria does most of the heavy work since her husband was injured. She is strongly built, energetic, and capable. She thinks nothing, for instance, of walking the mile home from the store with a 60-pound propane gas tank balanced on her head. She uses the fuel, sparingly, for her gas oven and hot water system.

Maria and Joaquim live in their house with Maria's younger brother who never married and needs caring for. The brother contributes to the household income by working day labor on construction crews. He does not find steady work, but for the last few months the government has been having water and sewage lines installed in the village, and many of the men working on the project are local residents.

Since the April revolution, it has been advantageous for Azoreans to have worked enough years in order to have paid in a sufficient quantity of their income to qualify for a higher old age pension rate. In order to fulfill the requirements, Maria is filling in hours by collecting milk at the milk station from eight to nine every morning. Joaquim takes over for her on Sundays. Ironically, Joaquim and Maria do not sell their milk to the factory at the milk station, but Maria dispenses it in liter containers that customers from the village bring to her. In addition, Maria bakes the unleavened style of corn bread, *bolo*, to sell on consignment at one of the town groceries. The bread sells for 130 *escudos*, about \$.90, and Maria pays the store a 10% commission. She bakes 13 loaves weekly for sale, so if they all sell she earns 1521 *escudos*, about \$10, which is the same as one minimum daily wage in the Azores. She does not like the idea of having to pay the commission and take back any unsold breads after three days, but she has no choice. Maria feels that considering the labor involved in growing, harvesting and processing

the corn, besides the labor involved in baking the bread, the profit is not very great. There is not very much call for corn bread these days, as bakery manufactured wheat bread is getting more popular. She bakes the bread for sale and that for home consumption on different days, one morning or afternoon a week for each. Her family always eats the slightly stale loaves that are returned. In contrast to Maria's traveling days, she rarely leaves the village, now. Except to do agricultural chores and go to the chapel that shares a wall with her house, she does not often leave the house. She sends her breads for sale to the store via the morning bus that stops near her house.

When Rosa returned to the Azores after 13 years in France, she and Maria did not resume their hat business and the trips to São Jorge. Rosa settled with her husband and daughters on Faial, and opened a stall in the food market. But Rosa still makes good use of her São Jorge connections. São Jorge is famous for production of a fine quality, relatively expensive, aged cheese, that despite the short distance between São Jorge and Faial, is often difficult to get on Faial. People are very particular about the São Jorge cheese that they eat, and if it is not just right, they will not purchase it. I have been quietly advised by other customers on a number of occasions that the cheese I was looking at in a glass case was not of good quality, that the best can only be had at a particular stall in the market: "The senhora [Rosa] has connections, you see." One of Mario's relatives mediates the periodic transport by boat of the large, yellow wheels of cheese, and if the cheese is not exactly as Rosa expects to see it, for instance if it is not aged quite enough, they simply send it back by return boat. Maria sometimes takes advantage of her sister's sales outlet in the market. Fig and chestnut trees grow on Maria's land on Pico and in years of exceptionally good harvest, a member of Maria's household will bring a basket full of fruit or nuts over to Faial to sell at Rosa's market stall. Maria rarely has brought the produce to Faial herself. She feels that she cannot spare the time away from her own home, even though a trip to Faial would mean that she could visit with her sister and nieces and aged mother. No one in Maria's household has brought produce to Faial for sale in a number of years because, Maria explained, the time lost in travel, the time away from domestic and agricultural chores or wage work, and the cost of the bus trip around the island to the harbor

and the boat ride to Faial and back, do not make it worth their while.

Maria and Joaquim have worked hard all their lives in subsistence agricultural production, household work, and varying wage jobs or income generating activities. Maria says that she does not regret never having migrated like her sister did, but that she could not imagine work anywhere being as hard as it has been on the Azores Islands. Maria is proud of their accomplishments, despite the hard work. She maintains that the division of labor in the household has always been equitable between Joaquim and her, although it may not look so to the outsider. She told me: "When we got married we had nothing, not even our own small house. Together we have made the fight for life (*fazíamos a luta da vida*). Joaquim works better in the summer. Me, I don't work as hard in the summer. The winter is my time to work hard."

APPENDIX F

CASE STUDY: THE LAST POTTER IN VILA FRANCA

Pottery-making once constituted thriving home industries on most of the islands, pottery-making has almost died out. Glazed decorative and utilitarian pieces are still made on a limited basis on São Miguel, but the work is a mere shadow of its former splendor. Rather than the careful, intricate designs that used to adorn the typical, large decorative plates, items currently produced for the tourist market are crude and rapidly done. João of Vila Franca do Campo on São Miguel is the sole remaining potter in a large village that was known throughout Portugal for its distinctive style of unglazed utilitarian ceramic ware. In his late seventies, João still works daily in his damp, stone workshop by the light of the glassless windows. Although pottery is a traditional male activity, he receives occasional assistance from his wife and granddaughters. However, his granddaughters are his helpers, not apprentices, and he does not expect them to carry on his business after him. João is the last of the famous Vila Franca potters because his efforts at passing on his unique knowledge to the younger generation are rebuffed; not even his grandchildren are interested in taking up their grandfather's profession. The elderly potter says about the young generation: "They see that there is no money in it. And besides, they are too busy staying all day in school. I don't know if they teach them anything useful there. I know they

spend a lot of time doing things like gymnastics. But the kids enjoy what they do in school. It's a big problem because the children don't learn how to do real work anymore." But even João is changing with the times. With the advent of plastic and glass household items, there is little demand for his large clay bowls and pitchers. He has revised his line of products to include modern, decorative items and miniatures of traditional designs to capture the tourists' attention. But except for a short season in the summer, business is slow. Significantly, pottery is not taught on any island in the *Educação Permanente* program. Pottery has always been a male activity, so government officials do not expect boys to take up pottery, a craft with little income generation possibilities.

APPENDIX G

CASE STUDY: A HANDICRAFTS COOPERATIVE

The women of the Terciera crafts cooperative, established in 1984, control the membership, assessing applicants' abilities, and voting on the admission of new members. In 1987 there were 11 members between the ages of 45 and 55, and one woman aged 28. The age of the women is significant, as their advanced stage in the life cycle means that childcare is not a problem. This is essential, because the cooperative is no place for children as there has always been a severe shortage of workspace, and materials and finished items lay piled all over the rooms. The members originally set up in a small, rented space that soon became too expensive for them. When I first met them in 1986, they had just moved to the main street of town, in a first floor apartment that a friend was lending them. The apartment had the advantages of centrality and exposure, but was small and not permanent. Finally, in early 1988, as had been promised in the beginning, the municipal government renovated a building on the edge of town for their use. The cooperative is now in permanent, rent-free quarters, but again the women find themselves seriously cramped, as competing interests won the attention of the government, and half their intended space was allocated to a physical education program. The membership then, will be constrained by space.

They are set up for walk-in sales, but most of their work is made to order with sales arranged by the Ministry of Emigration. The Ministry takes orders from folkloric groups on other islands, and from migrant organizations in the United States and Canada. The new workshop is out of the way of normal commercial traffic, and tourists and Americans from the base are likely to miss it, but even when the cooperative was situated more centrally, the women could not compete with the male gift shop owners who speak some English and aggressively recruit buyers outside on the street. The Ministry as a sales intermediary and distributor, in effect, takes the place of the well-connected ladies of earlier centuries, and establishes the cooperative's connections with buyers on other islands as well as in the United States and Canada. The women specialize in weaving a coarse, heavy, multi-colored "rag" cloth that has always been popular in the Azores for blankets and bedspreads, but that is not commonly made in quality anymore. It is similar to the blankets that are mass produced in southern Portugal and sold to the tourists, but the cloth produced on the continent is of poorer, cheaper quality. Frequently, more than one woman will collaborate on a project, helping each other to sew the panels of a large blanket together and finish the edges. The same cloth is woven on the narrow looms to make place mats and potholders. A double bed size sells for 5000 *escudos*, about \$35, which is not a high price for the quality and quantity of labor involved. The women also weave woolen cloth to make the traditional festive garb of the Azores, and make large Azorean flags and banners and dolls in traditional "peasant" dress for export to folkloric groups in migrant communities.

The regional government donated three floor looms, two sewing machines, and a spinning wheel. The equipment has grown as members bring their own to the shop, and fills the space so that there was barely any

room to move or lay out the large rugs for sewing panels, etc. The members arrange their finances such that women's work hours are recorded, and at the end of the month, each member is paid a salary according to the hours she worked and the profits taken in after expenses. Some months they receive virtually nothing for their efforts, but other months are fairly lucrative.

The atmosphere in the cooperative is that of an organized, friendly, frenzy, as the women work steadily on their projects, trying to get as much done in the time they have. But they also keep up a constant exchange of conversation between the three cramped rooms. Despite months of low return for their hard work, the women claim to be very satisfied with the situation and with the turn their lives have taken. They enjoy their time at the cooperative, and have plenty of work to keep them busy, thanks to the support and connections they receive from the Ministry of Emigration. One of the older women who just began weaving four years ago has gotten so interested in the craft that she also has a loom set up in her house. She works at home in the evenings. But after so many years of doing domestic work, isolated in her house, she prefers to work during the day in the congenial atmosphere of the cooperative.

APPENDIX H

WOMEN IN ELECTED POLITICAL POSITIONS

In the political realm, the constitution is clear about gender equality in leadership positions. In this sphere, Portugal's patriarchal tradition of public leadership entails strong ideological elements that will be difficult to overcome. In Portugal as a whole, women's election to political bodies is low, and the number of women elected increased for the the larger or more urban institutions. In 1979, five years after the revolution, the pattern differed only slightly in the Autonomous Region of the Azores. Women comprised 4.45% of parish council (*junta de freguesia*) members, 3.85% of parish assembly (*assembleia de freguesia*) members, 6.67% of municipal chamber (*camara municipal*) members, and 11.62% of municipal assembly (*assembleia municipal*) members. In the Azores, the vast majority of the women elected were categorized as "housewives" (*domésticas*) who held no profession. Housewives constituted one quarter of all female elected members in Portugal, with teachers, the most common female profession, making up another quarter (Almeida Fernandes and Palmeiro Duarte 1985).

APPENDIX I

FAMILY SUBSIDIES¹

Family Assistance: depending on the size of the family, approximately 1,250 *escudos*² per month for each child.

Complementary Assistance: from 1,250 to 2,000 *escudos* per month per individual under 24 years of age.

Marriage Subsidy: 11,150 *escudos*.

Birth Subsidy: 13,350 *escudos* when a child is born.

Milk Assistance: 2,450 *escudos* per month for each child and six months of free month for the mother's consumption after childbirth.

Funeral Subsidy: the family receives 15,600 *escudos*.

Invalid or other Handicap Subsidies:

up until age 16 - 3,150 *escudos*

16 to 18 - 4,620 *escudos*

18 to 24 - 6,190 *escudos*

¹ The figures were provided to Ron Harder (1989) by the office of the Secretário Regional dos Assuntos Sociais in 1988. The data are approximate because the amounts are frequently revised.

² At the time of fieldwork about 150 *escudos* equaled one U.S. dollar.

APPENDIX J

CASE STUDY: CRAFTS SKILLS AS PRESTIGE

In Praia das Pedras on Faial, Maria D. is highly skilled in lace-making and is so unusual that she has become a kind of "regional treasure" in that the government has placed many pieces of her work in the local museum. Maria is sent to demonstrate and display her craft at important *festas* throughout the islands, and she is employed from time to time by the Ministry of Education to teach lace-making in the *Educação Permanente* (Continuing Education program). Maria does not make lace for sale, but has several beautiful projects in progress which include an apron that is for display at the museum, and a communion dress for her granddaughter. Her involvement in this "traditional" activity has broadened her otherwise very traditional life to include activities that would normally be closed to a woman of her peasant background. Although Maria had only the minimal four years of primary school education, the directors of the *Educação Permanente* are anxious for her to be an instructor--that is, when sufficient students can be convinced to enroll. Maria is the only one of her seven sisters and brothers (except for the two brothers who migrated to Canada) who participates in wage labor. She is extremely conservative and religious in her outlook, maintaining a strict moral and behavioral code for her daughters. Yet Maria travels without her husband to *festas* one or more times a year to display her

work in the week-long festivals. This is a very unusual thing for a rural woman to do, since she would be inappropriate for a woman to attend a *festa* even on her own island without the escort of a male relative. These trips cause her considerable anxiety and guilt over leaving her family for so long, even though her resident children are both working adults. Her husband, also, is gone from the village all day at his job in the city. Maria prepares for her absence from the house by cooking large stews in advance (it helps that she has a refrigerator for storage), and baking more than a week's supply of cornbread, "So my husband will not go hungry." Her daughter Ana recently got married and moved out of the house. But before when Ana lived with her parents, she usually was relieved of many domestic chores because of her daily work in an urban child care center, but took care of the household work when her mother was away on a trip. When I asked Maria if she would consider turning down the government's request that she travel, she told me that she would not turn down the government because it is a unique opportunity for her to travel. "I know many women who have never been off this island. How can I pass up the chance to see things?" she said. Maria feels guilty that her husband and son have to get their own breakfast when she's gone, but she is confident that her daughter Ana and her daughter-in-law across the road would take care of all the other domestic work and see that the men are fed.

Maria is excited about taking on an expanded role, one that brings her out of the domestic domain. But after several years of participating in the *festas* on other islands, she still experiences conflicts over the demands of the two roles. Significantly, of all the domestic responsibilities that she must neglect in her week-long absences from the household, the one that takes priority in her mind is the relative insecurity of her husband's and son's

meals. Since Ana got married, she moved into her own house across a small expanse of pastureland from her parents' house. But Ana continues to help care for her father and brother if necessary, because there is a tradition of reciprocal exchange of labor among the women and men of this family, even when they are residing in separate houses. Now there are three households in this family's household group: Maria's, her daughter Ana's, and her son's across the road.

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O Telégrafo

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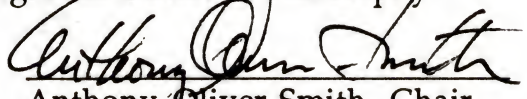
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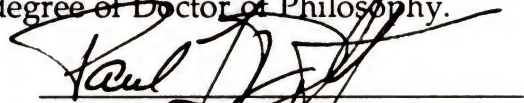
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The author was born in New York City in 1956. She received her B.A. in anthropology from the State University of New York, Albany in 1978. After graduation, she lived in Alaska for 3 years, conducting ethnographic research and working in regional planning. Goldman received her M.A. in anthropology and a master's certificate in Latin American Studies from the University of Florida in 1985. Field research for the master's thesis concerned issues of social organization in post-disaster reconstruction in Peru. Goldman has also studied issues of housing, household economic strategies and women's factory work in Mérida, Mexico.

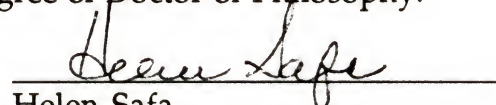
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A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Linda Wolfe", written over a horizontal line.

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This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Anthropology in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

December, 1989

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